

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

Monday, November 3, 1975

Reprieve for Taiwan

It is ironic that the single most important issue in Sino-American relations — Taiwan — is not sparking any headlines during the Kissinger visit to Peking. There cannot be a full normalization of those relations until that issue is settled.

Yet the Chinese leaders have not been pressing the matter. They keep the topic in the hopper and will not abandon it as long as Taiwan is politically separated from the mainland. But they have been signalling their patience and suggesting it is up to the United States to break the impasse.

The reason for this seems clear. After the collapse of the American effort in Vietnam, China, no less than the U.S., was concerned about the possible destabilization of Asia if American military forces began withdrawing from the region. It didn't want to create any vacuum into which the Russians might move. Hence the constant theme in Peking that the U.S. must remain militarily strong — in Asia and Europe — against an alleged Soviet threat.

But there is perhaps another calculation in Chinese thinking. That is concern about the American political situation and the uncertainties that loom as the nation heads into an election year. Peking would seem to have a vested interest in doing nothing to upset the return to presidential office of the man who is pursuing the Nixon-Kissinger foreign policy.

Taiwan, which commands a strong lobby in Washington, appears to be gathering more and more support. Not only right-wing conservatives now oppose any move on Taiwan. Left-wing liberals likewise say the U.S. must be careful not to prejudice its interests there.

Given this mood, it would be difficult for the President to negotiate a settlement of the Taiwan question which he could sell politically. In fact, any agreement, along with such

issues as the Panama Canal, could cause him acute trouble in Congress.

Some voices in Washington argue that it would be better to grapple with the problem while Chairman Mao and Premier Chou are still on the scene, since they are committed to a rapprochement with Washington whereas the policy of their successors is an unknown factor. The argument is reasonable. But the two sides may have to settle for what is politically possible rather than for what is ideal.

What is possible is a presidential visit to Peking to keep the Sino-American relationship viable. The bilateral benefits derived from that tie in the form of cultural exchanges, trade and diplomatic contacts have reached a plateau of sorts. A few sour notes have even crept into relations, the latest being Peking's blast at Washington for not closing down a Tibetan exile office in New York.

But that the United States and China have a continuing mutuality of interest there is no doubt. Each is concerned about the political and military might of the Soviet Union. Washington believes that its counterbalancing tie with Peking makes the Russians behave less aggressively, just as Moscow believes detente with the West helps keep China off balance.

The triangular relationship is a delicately structured one. While China feels free to warn against detente, the United States must not make it appear it is playing off one side against the other. As Secretary Kissinger diplomatically told his counterpart in Peking, the U.S. will resist Soviet expansionism but it will do everything to avoid needless confrontations.

That is the name of the American game: an evenhanded posture toward both China and the Soviet Union. That is why it is important for President Ford to journey to Peking.



'On top of old Smoky...'

Sadat in the United States

The sight of a United States Secretary of State embracing an Egyptian President on American soil is unprecedented. But this has happened — and it is a significant symbol of how Washington's role has shifted in the Middle East dispute. No longer is it the supporter of only one belligerent side. It is the broker for peace for both the Israelis and the Arabs.

Moscow no doubt chafes at this abrupt turnaround and the diminution of its influence in Egypt. It was not so long ago that there were more than 6,000 Russians there — a Soviet buildup that can be traced back to John Foster Dulles' refusal of American aid for the Aswan Dam. Now Egypt is getting out from under the Soviet thumb. Its natural affinities are with the West but, more than this, President Sadat recognizes that only the United States can bring Israel around to making a compromise peace and that it can do this only if Egypt demonstrates a moderate, constructive stance.

President Sadat has done precisely that. He is endeavoring to show — by opening up the Suez Canal, reconstructing the cities along it, permitting Israeli cargoes to go through the waterway, and pledging nonuse of force in Sinai — that Egypt is prepared to live with the state of Israel and seeks a nonviolent route to a final peace settlement. It goes without saying that Israel and the United States have a stake in his continued leadership.

But Mr. Sadat does not face a certain future. For one, his country is in serious trouble economically. If he cannot soon improve the standard of living of the mass of poor in Egypt, he could lose power. Hence he will plead in Washington for an understanding of his need for substantial American economic assistance.

But he needs more. It is absolutely essential to him that the diplomatic process toward achieving another Arab-Israeli agreement in the Middle East be kept alive. The Sinai

accord has generated considerable opposition from Sadat's Arab allies. If this agreement is not followed by some movement on Syria's occupied Golan Heights and then a consideration of the Palestinian question, he will become isolated in the Arab world and therefore also vulnerable at home.

Hence the question that looms most important as President Sadat makes his rounds of speeches and high-level meetings is whether the visit will inject life into Mideast diplomacy and help lay the ground for the next step. There seems little hope for another Syrian-Israeli agreement in an election year, an agreement that might entail U.S. pressuring of Israel. But it would aid both President Sadat and President Ford politically if it could be seen that another high-level negotiating effort was under way.

In this context, Mr. Sadat will also be angling for a lifting of the American embargo on arms sales to Egypt. He argues that the U.S. is building up Israel militarily and that "escalation by one side will have to be met by escalation from our side." Since Moscow is no longer an abundant source of military supplies, he will be testing Washington's "evenhandedness" in requesting the right to buy American arms.

Pro-Israeli sympathies in Congress make it unlikely that President Sadat will get far this year. But the administration's argument that arms help for Egypt would enhance the American influence there and give Washington even more negotiating leverage in a peace settlement may prove to be a telling point when the political climate is right.

In the meantime, it is fitting that Americans should have given a warm welcome to the Egyptian leader who has made peace with Israel the cornerstone of his policy.

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Mirror of opinion

Venice: turning of the tide?

High tides, industrial air pollution and real estate speculation have threatened Venice over since Italy began to recover from World War II. Recurring tides — due in part to a rising sea level caused by the melting of the polar cap, in part by man-made ecological changes — sweep through the old canals, flooding Piazza San Marco and damaging the churches, palaces and their art treasures that are the glory of Western civilization. Until very recently, the flood was aggravated by the fact that the city was slowly sinking, as ground water was pumped from thousands of artesian wells. The good news is that the sinking has now been stopped. The great flood of November 4, 1968, dramatized the prospect that Venice might succumb to accelerating decay. It reminded all of us that technology, as C. P. Snow put it, while providing untold blessings with one hand, may stab us in the back with the other.

Offers to help came from everywhere — from scientists and scholars, foundations and international organizations and thousands of people from all over the world for whom, as art historian Terisio Pignatti put it, Venice was not just a brief memory, an idyllic weekend, a postcard, a mirage, but also the dream that we can yet avoid going down under the juggernaut of mass culture. A year after the devastating flood, the United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization stood ready with money, technical advice and an UNESCO director-general Rinaldo Ossola was forced to threaten the withdrawal of the aid program in the face of Italian lethargy.

UNESCO funds for Venice, it seemed, had been used for other purposes. The national government had other cares and the Venetians themselves were deadlocked in a quarrel over industrialization versus preservation.

But now, due in part to UNESCO pressure and in part to a new, preservation-minded Communist-Socialist government in Venice, the deadlock seems broken at last. The long-promised aqueduct from the Alps is completed, the wells are gradually shut, the ground water is rising again and the city has stabilized. Plans for new sewers and the restoration of government-owned buildings are at last to be realized. The government directives give emphasis to the development of Venice as a commercial center rather than an industrial port. And the Italian Public Works Ministry has let bids for the construction of dams that would keep flood tides out of the Venetian Lagoon. The most intriguing proposal — and a major advance in hydro-technology — calls for an inflatable rubber dam, somewhat like a giant hot water bottle, that would rest on the bottom of the sea. Developed and tested by the Eirell Tire Corporation, this dam would not interfere with shipping and the lagoon's complex ecology unless a tidal flood threatened. When it did, a computer would forecast the flood, activate pumps and fill the giant polyethylene tubes so they would form effective barriers against heavy seas. So you see, technology need not destroy our past. We need only engage and direct it intelligently to safeguard both prosperity and history. — The Washington Post

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President Ford's big shuffle: what it all means

By Joseph C. Harnell

America's friends (and unfriends) overseas should not expect any early or major change in American foreign or defense policy to result from U.S. President Gerald Ford's Cabinet reshuffle.

On the contrary, the changes clearly mean that President Ford himself remains committed to the search for a second-stage (SALT II) agreement with the Soviets, which also means a continuing commitment to detente.

But, the pace is likely to be slower and more cautious.

More on U.S. shake-up P.6

Along the road there will be less visible disagreement about these matters between the State and Defense Departments. But behind the scenes it seems probable that Pentagon doubts about detente will receive more patient and thoughtful consideration.

These are the principal conclusions which emerge from the various changes in the future location of people in Washington and their present and future personal relations with the President himself.

Perhaps the most important single change is that the Pentagon is to be headed by Donald Rumsfeld who has been the closest man to the President in the White House hierarchy and is the President's present first choice as future vice-presidential running mate. This means that the Pentagon will have a leader who is a personal and trusted friend of the President and can get equal access to him with Secretary of State Kissinger.

Mr. Rumsfeld will not be an open, public critic of detente as his predecessor, James Schlesinger, has been. But any criticisms he wants to express will carry more weight. Mr. Schlesinger was never close to President Ford. The only way he has been able to challenge a Kissinger policy was to go public on Capitol Hill. Mr. Rumsfeld can do it out of sight in the orderly process of government.

So the Pentagon gains a more effective ambassador to the White House who will enjoy equality of access to the President with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

The corollary of the rise of Mr. Rumsfeld is the inevitable decline in Dr. Kissinger's power. His policies are confirmed, but his ability to push them forward to the President without scrutiny by others is much reduced.

In the past Dr. Kissinger was Director of the National Security Council and the President's assistant for all national security matters. This means that the Secretary of Defense and the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency reported to the President through Dr. Kissinger.

*Please turn to Page 6



Top row: Kissinger, Ford, Rockefeller. Bottom row: Richardson, Bush, Rumsfeld, Coby, Schlesinger. By Albert J. Forbas, staff artist

A Kremlin-like look at the Ford axings

By Victor Zorza
Special to 'The Christian Science Monitor'

Washington

When President Ford was asked how he would view the changes he had at the top of his administration "If you were Mr. Brezhnev," he ducked the question. "I won't speculate," he said. But Brezhnev and his analysts have to speculate about it, for the Kremlin's own policies must depend on its view of the Washington changes.

An attempt to reconstruct the Kremlin's analysis of the Washington changes must start from the prevailing Soviet view of the Washington policy-making process as a struggle between hawks and doves, led respectively by James Schlesinger as Secretary of Defense and Henry A. Kissinger as Secretary of State.

Those Soviet analysts who are committed to that view would tend to conclude that Dr. Schlesinger's departure signifies a victory for Dr. Kissinger, but there are also those in Moscow who would argue the contrary.

Some would maintain, as do so many Western commentators, that the removal of Dr. Schlesinger removes also the obstacles which he had put in the way of Dr. Kissinger's attempts to negotiate a SALT II (arms

limitation) agreement. By this reckoning, the surrender by Dr. Kissinger of his position as the President's national security adviser is only a minor concession, since Gen. Brent Scowcroft, his successor in that position, is supposed to be "a Kissinger man."

But those Soviet analysts who believe in applying the skills of Kremlinology to the Washington scene would not rest content with this interpretation. They would begin by going through the transcripts of all the remarks made by Dr. Kissinger on the national security post. They would soon find a number of hints and even quite clear indications by Dr. Kissinger that he believed his post of National Security Adviser to be essential to the successful conduct of foreign policy by him as Secretary of State.

The Soviet analysis would then go through the transcript of Mr. Ford's press conference with a fine-tooth comb and would find that the President expressly rejected the criticism that General Scowcroft was "a Kissinger man." He said he had known General Scowcroft "intimately" for 14 months. The General, he said, "speaks an independent mind — I know it personally — so I don't think that that criticism is valid."

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NATO assesses Pentagon switch

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London

Can the Atlantic alliance keep up its military guard while practicing political detente in a climate of world recession? Are democracies equipped to do so?

These are some of the tough, self-reflective questions being asked in European chambers as they assess President Ford's dramatic Cabinet shifts.

The interest in European capitals is twofold. First, the security of the Western alliance vis-a-vis Moscow. Second American politics and the run-up to the presidential election next year.

But this latter interest lies in with the first: The United States is the linchpin of Western security, and who becomes its president next year (and who does not) is a matter of vital importance to every European.

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South African newspaper that money couldn't buy

By Humphrey Tyler
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town

An Afrikaans fertilizer tycoon with strong government connections, a conservative American publisher, and the leader of South Africa's main opposition party have failed in an attempt to take over — and fame — the frequently most outspoken section of the South African English-language press establishment.

They bid in cash in millions of dollars for control of the country's biggest weekly newspaper and a string of major morning dailies. But important minority shareholders refused to go along, they said, because dealing in newspapers was "not like trading in

furniture or selling a horse and cart," they would not sell their shares to Louis Luyt, a self-made Afrikaans millionaire, and his partners.

Sparks first started to fly when, out of the blue, Louis Luyt (pronounced "late"), announced that he was prepared to make a bid for all the shares in South African Associated Newspapers at a price of about \$5 a share when their stock market price was running at just more than \$2.

This company controls or has an interest in a chain of newspapers. The most important is the Sunday Times, which sells about 500,000 copies a week — the biggest circulation in South Africa. Others are the liberal Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg's main morning paper, and the conservative Natal Mercury. — The Christian Science Monitor

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THE SOVIET
'WEST'

Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were gobbled up by the Russians in 1940.

But they have managed to retain much of their identity and are today the envy of the rest of the Soviet Union.

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FOCUS

Making deserts bloom

By David F. Salisbury

If the deserts of the world are to bloom, it will be "under glass" — either in agricultural greenhouses or in roof-top gardens.

This was the thinking of many experts at a recent symposium here on Arid Zone Development. The meeting was jointly sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Hebrew University.

With more than one third of the earth's lands classed as arid, man has for many years dreamed of making deserts bloom. In the 1950s the possibility of large desalination plants powered by cheap nuclear energy inspired predictions that this Biblical prophecy would soon be fulfilled. However these forecasts were over-optimistic and desalted water cheap enough to use for agriculture has proved an elusive goal.

"Man's struggle for food in the arid regions has been so urgent for so many millennia that few of us can see beyond the possibilities of agricultural development in arid lands," Roger Revelle, head of the Harvard Center for Population Studies, told the gathering. He argues that industrial cities would make better use of desert resources than agriculture.

These cities could be powered by solar energy and its population fed from roof-top greenhouses. Dr. Revelle estimates that with careful recycling, water costs can be kept as low as \$7 per person per year for a city of one million.

Work on intensive greenhouse agriculture, primarily growing vegetables, is going on in Arizona, Abu Dhabi, Kuwait, and Israel.

Prof. Michael Evenari of Hebrew University reported on an Israeli experiment. Sea water is pumped into the space between double panes of glass in a greenhouse roof. The sun's rays beating down turn some of the water into steam. When the steam is

cooled it gives enough fresh water for plants inside. The hot salt water helps keep the greenhouse warm at night.

"Self-contained greenhouses as an industry have proven their worth already," said the Israeli professor. However one of his colleagues, an agricultural economist, cautioned that this method is more costly than traditional methods.

Some of the water for the experimental greenhouses at the University of Arizona come from a new type of salt-removal system. Saline water is forced through a

synthetic membrane which allows the water to pass through but not the salt.

"These materials have only been developed in the last 10 years," says Prof. Ronald F. Probst of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Although membranes cannot yet handle water as salty as seawater, they do work on the brackish waters that can be pumped from deep beneath many of the world's arid lands, he says.

Several cities in the western United States have successfully used membrane systems to supply water for drinking and industrial purposes. Prof. Probst predicted that the cost of one of these membrane systems, called reverse osmosis, might drop as low as 25 cents per 1,000 gallons. This is about the highest Israeli agriculturists are willing to pay for irrigation water.



Manley Commercial Photography

University of Arizona's project at Abu Dhabi

Power-sharing by any other name

By Francis Renny
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The power game in Northern Ireland goes on at two levels, tenuously connected. There is the constitutional game, played by the politicians in the stately palace of Stormont east of Belfast. And there is the game of life and death, a three-sided contest being played by Catholic and Protestant terrorist squads with the British Army in the middle.

VIEW FROM
ULSTER

In the end it is the political game that really counts; but the players know that any time they look like reaching a conclusion, the men of violence can veto that conclusion and make them start all over again.

The 78 elected delegates to the constitutional convention have just dispatched to London their recommendations for Northern Ireland's future. Or rather, they have dispatched the majority recommendations, which are naturally those of the traditionalist Protestants and of Unionist majority.

These recommendations reaffirm the right, under British parliamentary traditions, of the majority to govern — which implies the duty of the minority to acquiesce. The Catholic party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), are offered some influential and well-paid jobs as chairmen of parliamentary committees. But they are not guar-

anteed the "power-sharing" — that is the secure quota of cabinet posts they (and Mr. Wilson's London government) have insisted upon as necessary to gain the confidence of Northern Ireland's one-third Catholic minority.

In addition, the Unionist proposals call for a bill of rights. Most other political groups in the province do that; but whereas their concepts focus on the rights of the individual, the Unionist bill would lay down the rights of the Northern Ireland majority nor to be overruled by the Supreme parliament in London.

All of which would appear to be hopeless. Neither the Catholic parliamentarians, nor the IRA nor (because of them) the United Kingdom government could accept such proposals. And yet the outlook is far more hopeful than it has been since 1973.

Talking to delegates at the Stormont convention, this reporter has found most of them acknowledging that the recommendations to London were a mere face-saving gesture towards the hard-liners. Everyone expects London to toss the report back with instructions to try again. And when that happens (it is forecast) a number of delegates will show themselves prepared to make concessions to the Catholics.

One of the key figures in this movement is William Craig, leader of the Protestant Vanguard Movement. For years Mr. Craig was known as a hard-liner against the Catholics. But during the past few months he has begun to advocate not "power-sharing" (which had become a poisoned phrase) but "voluntary coalition" with the SDLP — which is very nearly the same thing.

There is evidence that the other Unionist leaders (including the inflammatory, populist Ian Paisley) had agreed with him that acceptance of this was the only way to maintain the link with Britain they all wanted.

But Mr. Craig made the mistake of saying so in public — and so he has been expelled from the Unionist coalition, together with three of his lieutenants. The likelihood is, they will soon be joined by others and that the idea of coalition will be the hope of the future.

What, then, about the men of violence, the killers on both sides, who have the power to wash out any political agreement with blood, or blow it up with explosives?

In the third quarter of this year, Northern Ireland saw eight soldiers and policemen killed, and 110 injured. Civilian casualties were 59 killed and 652 injured — figures which ought to dispel any romantic impression that what is going on is a battle of gallant liberation fighters against the wicked British Army.

For most of the civilian casualties represent Northern Irishmen killed or injured by other Northern Irishmen. And what this means, in turn, is that the killing is motivated by gang warfare, and sadism rather than political idealism. Although intimidated, Catholics and Protestants alike are making the distinction.

As a result, it is becoming easier to identify and convict the killers by normal legal process. The aim of the British authorities is to end detentions without trial by Christmas. In their place, convictions by trial have increased 25 percent this year.

Violence will not easily be stamped out in Northern Ireland; it will probably have to be endured, for a long time, to come. But constitution and law are at last enjoying an even chance of success.

Europe

Warrior prince
lifts sagging
spirits of
Saharan army

By Richard Mowrer
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

In the closing hours of the Franco era the prestige of Spain's future King, Juan Carlos de Borbon, is rising dramatically.

Spaniards are taking a new, more interested look at the Prince, who late on Oct. 30 reluctantly agreed to act as interim Chief of State during General Franco's illness.

The see a man who clearly does not propose to be once again the meek rubber-stamp substitute to General Franco that he was in 1974 during the Caudillo's previous illness. Although there remain ceremonial formalities before the Prince can succeed General Franco as King, it is clear that mere technicalities are not holding Juan Carlos back.

In the space of a few days he has moved swiftly to take in hand the Saharan crisis, which threatened to bring national disgrace to Spain. When the stage seemed set for a sell-out of Spanish Sahara and its 73,000 native population to the Moroccans, these developments turned the situation around:

• Spain broke off nearly completed negotiations with Morocco and Mauritania.

• Juan Carlos, accompanied by the Minister of the Army, Gen. Francisco Coloma Gilego, and the Chief of the General Staff, Gen. Carlos Fernandez Vallespin, flew to the Saharan capital, El Aiun. There he addressed dispirited troops: "I wanted to assure you



Prince Juan Carlos, in general's uniform, greets Saharan officials at El Aiun

AP photo

personally that everything will be done to preserve intact the Army's prestige and honor."

• The Prince then returned to Madrid where he presided over a meeting of the National Defense Council. Meanwhile, instructions reached the Spanish delegate at the United Nations to tell the Security Council Spain would resort to armed force to stop Morocco's threatened civilian invasion of Spanish Sahara.

• When Moroccan Premier Ahmed Osman arrived at Madrid airport Monday for further talks no Spanish Government official was on hand to meet him, a protocol omission clearly intended as a snub.

Premier Osman later was received by Juan Carlos. After more than five hours of talks, the Premier told newsmen, "The [projected 350,000-person Moroccan] march will go on. Negotiation will go on. The march does not

impede negotiations — and negotiations do not impede the march. Let us hope all will end well."

• Spain ordered its troops in Spanish Sahara on full alert Tuesday. Reports tell of a new air of hope and revived morale among the 25,000 troops, who feared they would be the instruments of a betrayal of a native population that has been promised, by Spain and the United Nations, the right of self-determination.

Queen opens new energy era for hard-pressed Britain

By Takashi Oku
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Queen Elizabeth officially inaugurated Britain's North Sea era Monday as Prime Minister Harold Wilson said "it was not entirely misplaced humor to state that a British minister would be chairman of OPEC" (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) in the 1980's.

The ceremony at Dyce near Aberdeen was largely symbolic, since oil has in fact been flowing from British Petroleum's large Forties Field in the North Sea to its refinery at Grangemouth since mid-October. The flow still is relatively small compared to the 300,000 barrels per day of the Phillips pipeline to Teesside from Ekofisk in the Norwegian sector.

But this is Britain's first honest-to-goodness North Sea oil landed by pipeline, and British Petroleum (BP) declared that Scottish motorists could "load up with petrol refined from this North Sea oil within the course of the day."

The initial flow of oil through the 237-mile BP pipeline is 40,000 barrels a day. This will be stepped up to 250,000 barrels daily by the end of next year, and to 400,000 barrels — one-fifth of Britain's requirements — by mid-1977.

North Sea oil certainly is not going to mean the end of all Britain's problems. But companies that have experienced nothing but heavier and heavier outlays at last are beginning to generate cash flow as their oil comes ashore.

BP originally expected to develop the Forties Field for 350 million pounds. The actual costs are expected to come to around 750 million pounds or more than \$1.5 billion.

The Forties is the largest of the oil fields discovered in the British sector so far. Its reserves of recoverable oil are estimated at 1,000 million barrels. The next largest field, Shell's Brent, with 1,700 million barrels of recoverable oil reserves, will begin producing next year.

By 1980, according to current estimates, the

British sector of the North Sea will be producing over 2 million barrels of oil per day. The balance of payments benefit to Britain in that year will total 3,393 million pounds or nearly \$7 billion, according to a calculation by French experts.

There will be new problems and anxieties as well. How safe will it be to produce oil from under one of the world's most turbulent seas? Last week a ruptured pipeline caused an explosion and fire at Ekofisk, in the Norwe-

gian sector, killing three and seriously injuring three others. A wellhead explosion would have been far more serious. This, according to oil companies, is a risk that has to be taken.

On land, North Sea oil fuels the dispute between London and advocates of Scottish independence. Scottish Nationalists blasted the lack of prominence given to Scotsmen in the ceremony at Dyce Monday. The Queen's visit took place under strictest security pre-

cautions because the pipeline already has been bombed twice by the extremist Tartan Army.

Finally, there is a general feeling that the most exciting period of oil discoveries in the North Sea is over. Twenty-seven oil rigs are operating in the British sector and this number is not expected to increase. Interest is shifting to the Western approaches, where exploration rights will be offered for the first time early next year. But little is yet known geologically about the region.

Doubts cast on future of U.S. bases in Spain

By Guy Hulterson
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Some Pentagon analysts here are concerned that any fragmentation of the Spanish military in a post-Franco era may lead to calls for removal of U.S. bases.

The analysts see already-strong left-wing pressures within the 302,000-man Spanish military strengthening after General Franco leaves the scene — and leading to new calls for a neutralist Spanish foreign policy.

Spain has long been isolated from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and faces the winds of leftward change in neighboring Portugal.

However, this interpretation is not shared by State Department sources, who say traditionally the Spanish military, although loyal to the 36-year-old nationalistic Franco government, is basically apolitical, and leaves ideology to the more politically active Civil Guard and police.

These sources argue that, unlike the Portuguese military, where many members of the junior officer corps were conscripted from universities to fight Portugal's African wars, the Spanish military has been able to a great extent to do its own recruiting on a highly selective basis.

Technical talks on the status of U.S. bases in Spain (a naval base at Rota, west of Gibraltar,

and air bases at Torrejon near Madrid, Zaragoza in northern Spain, and the currently unused Moron base in the south) are still under way.

Earlier this month the U.S. and Spain announced an agreement in principle on the continuation of the bases.

Those who see a threat to the bases in the

future argue that several years ago, few military officials could have foreseen the rapid leftward tilt of some key elements in the Portuguese military.

These sources say that the Portuguese tilt was caused in part by the return of troops who had fought in a losing effort to retain African colonies.

Iceland surveys its seismographs

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Reykjavik, Iceland — The needle vibrated off the straight line of green ink and made a nondescript smudge, then went back to making a straight line on the chart.

"That's a pretty good earthquake," said Páll Einarsson, who took a ruler, measured, the smudge, and then over to a map of Iceland and traced a couple of arcs to locate it.

Mr. Einarsson is a geologist with the University of Iceland, who studied five years at Columbia University in New York. He was describing his country's network of 26 seismic meters, eventually to be expanded to 80 or 90.

Every five years, on the average, Iceland has a major volcanic eruption. The eruptions

are preceded by earthquakes deep in the earth. The more accurately geologists like Mr. Einarsson can predict eruptions, the greater the possibility of saving lives and property.

More tilt meters also are being used in Iceland now. The earth swells before an eruption, and these sensitive meters can detect such movements.

A seismic bell, connected with the Mid-Atlantic Ridge, runs right through the island. There are earthquakes here every day, one a month being large enough to feel.

Volcanic activity, geologists say, brought Iceland up from the ocean floor. Some scientists believe Iceland is growing wider (east-west) at the rate of two centimeters a year as the Atlantic Ridge continues to spread the earth's surface along its path up and down the middle of the Atlantic Ocean.

Europe

Right rallies to combat Portuguese Left

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

A new political phenomenon, the resurgence of the conservatives, is making itself felt in crisis-torn Portugal.

The most obvious indication of this new trend was the size of a crowd, estimated at more than 15,000, that attended a rally held by the conservative Center Democratic Social Party (CDS) in the northern city of Porto recently.

Even more significant was the fact that the mass meeting passed without incident, despite threats from several far-left groups. Only a few months ago the leaders of this party were so cowed by the Left that many were sleeping in different houses each night and did not dare call out their followers for a public meeting.

The reemergence of the Right as a political force represents a reflection of the changing attitude of the Portuguese people. After 18 months of too much revolution and no resolution, they are growing tired of constant political unease and agitation.

Warnings of severe economic crisis around the corner and soaring unemployment figures preoccupy most Portuguese. Sharpening their worries is the social agitation caused by the Communists and far-leftists in their attempts to overthrow the socialist-dominated sixth government. The almost-daily "people's power" rallies and leftist-encouraged military mutinies do nothing to calm their fears.

This disillusion with the revolutionary Left could, however, produce a much more radical reaction than the simple shifting of sympathies to the conservative CDS. The possibility of the extreme right wing taking advantage of the situation and staging a coup is thought to be as likely as the far Left trying to take power.

One right-wing movement, the Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (MDLP), is already organized and waiting in the wings.

Founded by ex-President Antonio de Spínola, before he was forced into exile following the abortive right-wing coup last March, the movement openly operates from a Madrid office. One of its leaders, Alpoim Calvao, tough ex-Army captain, recently boasted the movement had 17,000 members, 5,000 of them in Portugal. Political sources say Mr. Calvao's claim is high, but that the movement could indeed have some 6,000 members, most of them probably located around the northern border with Spain.

The MDLP, say the sources, is basically made up of both military officers who fled the country after the March 11 abortive coup and men in Portugal's armed forces who are disaffected with the present regime.

Another clandestine right-wing group, the Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP) also is making its presence felt. Last week 12 bombs were set off under left-wing targets around the country. ELP claimed responsibility for them all.

But while the two underground right-wing groups might well try to take over the government, the more lastingly important conservative force in the long run is the CDS, led by Prof. Diogo Freitas do Amaral.

Professor Amaral feels certain that if the country goes to the polls early next year to elect a legislative assembly, as promised by the ruling military regime, the CDS will do well. The CDS won only 6 percent of the vote last April in the constituent assembly elections and has 16 seats there. But as Professor Amaral noted, "we campaigned under terrible circumstances last time."

After its recent showing in Porto, however, it looks as though the CDS might indeed have a successful campaign this time. And reports from the more conservative northern half of the country indicate that the CDS is gaining support by the week.



Troops scan countryside near Oporto as a jittery nation simmers

Portugal: unleashing the dogs of civil war?

By Helen Gibson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

While the various factions of the military rattle sabres at one another, the Portuguese seem to be losing a little more hope in their revolution.

"The Portuguese appear to have left off having any confidence..." said the weekend newspaper Expresso in an editorial. "The instability we live in—not only with regard to politics but on the economic and social level, in fields as diverse as labor, education, investment, wildcat occupations, purges, the mass media, transport—has left some millions of very tired and bewildered citizens."

Meanwhile, the various pro- and anti-Communist factions in the military made battle preparation noises all last week.

The Air Force chief confirmed that his branch of the military was taking extra security precautions to prevent the overthrow of the socialist-dominated sixth government. He admitted to intensified training for fighter pilots, the arming of helicopters and small Cessna planes, and stockpiling of war materiel in a disused NATO base in the conservative north. But he said all this was only to stop a coup from the extreme Left or Right.

Gen. Jose Morais e Silva was pushed into his disclosures by a statement published in the Communist-controlled press from a so-called Air Force revolutionary vigilance commission. This group of unidentified leftist airmen accused the Air Force command of planning a right-wing coup.

The following day the leftist-controlled Navy announced it was going on anti-aircraft exercises.

At the same time, two Army units went on live-fire maneuvers in the southern Alentejo and on the Algarve coast—Army maneuvers have been infrequent in the 18-month-old revolution—while militant leftist soldiers at Portugal's main arsenal decided they would shut the gates and keep the country's weaponry for "the people."

Soldiers at Beiroles Arsenal reinforced their decision the next day, mounting machine guns and mortars around the walls to stop any attempt by the government to change their minds. "The weapons we will keep for the people and the revolution," the rebels stated.

So far, not a thing has been done about this latest mutiny.

Amid the war noises from the armed forces, the country also is uncomfortably aware that all kinds of civilian groups are arming themselves. By presidential decree all civilians last week were supposed to have handed

over their weapons or be prepared to face heavy fines and jail sentences up to eight years. The leftist revolutionary brigades, which always have boasted of their weaponry and training, answered the order simply by going underground. Another extreme Left group, the United Revolutionary Action League, did not bother to go underground but merely announced it was not going to obey the President.

Of the 20,000 weapons known to have disappeared from military arsenals in the last 18 months, only 11 weapons, mostly pistols, were handed over.

If the military regime is just beginning to face up to the reality of having a disheartened and discontented populace on its hands, it is quite awake to the fact that the refugees pouring into Portugal from war-torn Angola form a potential source of trouble.

The returnees are something more than bewildered and tired. They are bitter about the military government, which they hold responsible for the loss of all they had worked for—houses, businesses, even clothing and personal possessions. Some also have lost relatives to marauding terrorists.

The airlift of refugees ends Nov. 11—the date on which Portugal hands Angola its independence.

Demand 'unacceptable'

U.K. asked to force Ulster under Dublin rule

By Jonathan Harsch
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

"End British misrule, British oppressors out."

So read the slogans, the bold print supported in theory by most of Ireland's 3½ million Roman Catholics and at least by some of its 1 million Protestants.

But the fine print underneath the slogans shows up the contradictions and just why, for the British, the Irish demands are unacceptable.

The demands are coupled with these conditions:

- Britain should pay the costs of the switchover from British to Irish rule in Northern Ireland.

- It should provide financial guarantees so that industry will not withdraw from the North when the British pull out.

- It should provide continuing military support as long as necessary to keep the peace.

- It should take full responsibility for talking—or forcing—reluctant Northern Irish Protestants into accepting the switch-over.

Britain is not being asked to hand power over to a group representing the island as a whole. Instead, several bitterly competitive Irish factions are each campaigning separately for British withdrawal. And in the greatest contradiction of all, each faction wants the British adversary to help it to crush all opposition.

The Irish Government in Dublin and the main Roman Catholic Party in Northern

Ireland, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, are exceptions. They have virtually stopped criticizing British policy, and seem to accept what Britain has been saying for the past two years: that any settlement must be worked out by Irishmen among themselves; that Britain's role must be neutral; and that no Irish faction should ask for British support.

At least four factions of the Irish Republican Army are at war in Northern Ireland.

This vicious feuding is based on the belief that Britain has had enough and is nearly ready to withdraw. Each faction is trying to assert control over as large a territory as possible. Each considers Britain the enemy but is trying to get British support for itself.

In fact the continuing feuding makes British withdrawal increasingly impossible.

South Africa's sad dilemma as Alan Paton sees it

By Robin Wright
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

From a comfortable but simple book-lined study overlooking Natal's Valley of One Thousand Hills, Alan Paton, noted politician, author, and humanitarian, writes about the issues that threaten the fragile peacefulness of this area.

For 50 years Dr. Paton has been one of the leading "rational rebels" campaigning for change in South Africa's racial laws. He is best known abroad for his book, "Cry, the Beloved Country," a fictional account of black-white relations.

At home he is known as onetime president of the now-defunct Liberal Party, columnist, prison reformer, and friend and adviser to the country's "silenced majorities"—coloreds (people of mixed race), Asians, and blacks. "Anyone with sense realizes South Africa is

at a crossroads. The changes here so far have been trivial. There will need to be many more to guarantee a peaceful future," he says.

"I don't know whether change will be evolutionary or revolutionary. I do know it will be difficult to reverse in full gear from the laws passed in the past 27 years (since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948).

"Take the Mixed Marriages Act, one of the first laws the Nats (Nationalists) enacted. (Passed in 1949, it prohibits marriage between races.) I can't see the government just repealing it, and there is no ground in between. Yet the world sees it as one of the most discriminatory."

"I do not have much praise for our Prime Minister (John Vorster). But I do think he realizes that establishing relations with black countries is no good unless there is also change within the country. This will be difficult in a country where the majority of those in power truly believe in their own

superiority and fear the consequences of giving power to the black man.

"More and more people are trying to hide these feelings today, but they still exist and remain the concealed root of our problems. Fear is the great operator here—and it is the government's hard task to accommodate this fear while still easing discrimination," he added.

Fundamental to significant change, Dr. Paton says, are free education for Africans, the allocation of areas for free occupation by all races, elimination of the wage gap, repeal of the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts, removal of racial classification, removal of the migratory labor system, fairer distribution of land, reconsideration of the system of political detention, and close examination of the government's security legislation and machinery.

Dr. Paton does not underestimate the difficulty or impact of these changes. "The problem is that Mr. Vorster must move fast enough to abate world hostility and give confidence to the black people that there is a possible future for them without revolution, and at the same time avoid making his play so fast that he loses political power."

It will "require great personal strength and great personal skill to lead South Africans

through the emotional storm that will inevitably accompany change on such a gigantic scale."

The attitude of the Afrikaner, and not the feelings of the blacks, is the real key to South Africa's future, Dr. Paton contends. The Afrikaner's history of struggle in South Africa has led him to believe in the importance of his ethnic group and the need to fight for its survival as a distinct faction.

The problem is complicated because the Afrikaner has been in power 27 years, and non-Afrikaners see apartheid as a personal extension of the Afrikaner. It produced "the difficult problem of how to be altogether anti-apartheid, and not at all anti-Afrikaner."

There is no time for slow political development. The "minorities" will not put up with repressive legislation for another 27 years, Dr. Paton says.

Yet Dr. Paton remains an optimist. He points out the country's strengths as well as its weaknesses. Besides the obvious steps taken on Rhodesia and Namibia (South-West Africa), he cites other signs of change: The government no longer boasts about its military strength, although it is spending more on defense than ever before. It continues to cooperate with Mozambique although that country has had a Marxist-oriented government since June. There is greater contact between races.

Several Afrikaner "liberals" are questioning the system and speaking out about their doubts. And the Afrikaner press has opened a critical dialogue with Afrikaner officials.

Robin Wright is an Alicia Patterson Foundation fellow on leave from The Christian Science Monitor.

Love brings hope to Little Slamet.

It rains almost every day during the rainy season in Indonesia. And every rainy schoolday, Slamet puts on his raincoat and his grandmother opens her umbrella. Together they take the 15-minute walk to Slamet's school.

Slamet is blind. And his family is very poor. They could not afford the special education and training their young son needs.

But Slamet is fortunate to have a group of kind sponsors here in this country. Students at a college in the United States sponsor Slamet through the Christian Children's Fund. With their help, Slamet is enrolled in the only school for the visually handicapped in his province.

An Umbrella for Grandmother.

Slamet needs help to walk to school. His grandmother is paralyzed in her right arm, but she is devoted to the boy. Even during the heavy monsoon rains, she walks him to school in the morning, and returns again in the afternoon to walk him home.

So, when his sponsors sent a small amount of money as a special gift, Slamet bought a raincoat for himself and an umbrella for his grandmother.

The courses at Slamet's school are similar to those at other schools. But the students learn to read and write Indonesian Braille.



In the afternoon, the girls and boys enjoy crafts, swimming and playing traditional native musical instruments. They are also taught skills that will enable them, to support themselves.

At the school Slamet and the other children receive school uniforms, health care, hearty lunches and nourishing snacks. Slamet is an appreciative boy. With the love of his family, the help of his sponsor, and the special training from his school, Slamet has hopes of living a productive, self-sufficient life.

Slamet has hope. But many other children have little to look forward to.

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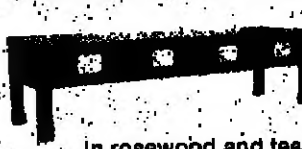
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United States

White House hirings and firings and what they mean

Kissinger shares private access to Ford

By Dana Adams Schmidt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Almost every morning since early 1989 a black limousine has stood outside the west wing of the White House with a station wagon full of Secret Service men close behind. It was Henry A. Kissinger's limousine. As Assistant to the President for National Security he spent half of the day at the White House, including an hour briefing the President personally.

Now Dr. Kissinger's limousine may not be there so often . . . and when it is, it will be there for shorter periods.

Analysts here conclude that a close examination of President Ford's Cabinet shake-up indicates that Dr. Kissinger's real power in foreign affairs has been reduced.

Until now, Mr. Ford has been meeting with Dr. Kissinger for an hour or so each day on foreign policy. While it is not clear whether Dr. Kissinger will be meeting with Mr. Ford from now on each and every day (the White House says exact details have yet to be decided), the analysts expect that Dr. Kissinger's preeminent access to Mr. Ford will now be shared with Donald Rumsfeld (new Secretary of Defense), George Bush (new CIA director) and Lt. General Brent Scowcroft (who will take over the daily duties of briefing Mr. Ford as White House national security adviser).

The President's new men

Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger is replaced by Donald Rumsfeld, White House Chief of Staff. In turn Mr. Rumsfeld's old job will be filled by Richard B. Cheney (deputy assistant to the President).
Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger will no longer hold two jobs. His duties as the White House adviser on the National Security Council will be taken over by his deputy Lieut. Gen. Brent Scowcroft.
William E. Colby, former Director of Central Intelligence, is replaced by George Bush, chief of the United States liaison office in Peking.
Elliot L. Richardson, Ambassador to Great Britain, will follow Rogers C.B. Morton as Secretary of Commerce.
Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller has announced he will not accept the vice-presidential nomination for 1976.

In effect, Dr. Kissinger will have to compete with these men, as he has not had to do before.

That is the price Henry A. Kissinger paid, according to administration insiders, for the "head" of his rival at the Defense Department, James R. Schlesinger. Dr. Kissinger retains much influence — presumably he will get his way on arms control issues and other defense-related issues now that Dr. Schlesinger is out of the picture.

Along with his second hat as Assistant to the President for National Security, Dr. Kissinger lost the chairmanship of subcommittees of the National Security Council which control the many strands of the intelligence community.

These subcommittees are:
— The Senior Review Group whose far-flung tasks extend to analysis of the defense budget and arms control issues.
— The Washington Special Action Group,

which coordinates policy during crisis and presents options to the President.

— The Intelligence Committee, and the 40 Committees, which coordinated CIA and defense intelligence.

Dr. Kissinger's control of this National Security Council machinery led a senior Kissinger aide to remark that the Secretary's power was based not on his position as Secretary of State but on his position as adviser to the President and his daily access to the President.

He also once said that the Secretary would rather some day leave office quietly rather than wait until he was taken out and "shot."

But it was Dr. Schlesinger, not Dr. Kissinger who was fired. Nonetheless Dr. Kissinger appears to have lost his daily access and more, and some observers are wondering whether he might not be looking for the opportunity to leave quietly.

Two men dominate the new Cabinet

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
When President Ford sits down with his new Cabinet, two men — Henry A. Kissinger and William E. Simon — will tower in influence over the others at the long rectangular table.

This conclusion emerges from talks with government leaders, following Mr. Ford's reshuffle of his administration and Nelson A. Rockefeller's removal of himself as a 1976 vice-presidential candidate.

Treasury Secretary Simon is viewed as the undisputed architect of domestic economic policy, though he shares power with Dr. Kissinger in the realm of international economic affairs.

Secretary of State Kissinger, though his wings may have been clipped by the loss of his National Security Council post at the White House, remains, observers agree, the dominant voice in U.S. foreign policy.

So Washington asks what the relationship is between these two men whose decisions help to shape the lives of millions of Americans.

Mr. Simon and Dr. Kissinger, a top government source told this newspaper, "meet once or twice a week, first alone, then with their staffs" to formulate economic policy, as it relates to overseas.

On at least two major topics, the two men are known to have had differing views:

• Mr. Simon favors a coordinated policy among oil-consuming nations, including conservation efforts and development of alternative energy sources, to break the hold of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) over world oil prices.
• The Treasury chief opposes international commodity agreements that might artificially rig prices and distort free-market forces.

Dr. Kissinger, while agreeing on the need to reduce OPEC power and to avoid new commodity cartels, stresses U.S. willingness to go farther than before to accommodate the views of poor nations on reshaping the world's economic system.

Policy on these and other topics, said a top government source, "is still evolving," as part of the Simon-Kissinger dialogue.

"Of course they sometimes disagree," said the source. "One of them would not be doing his job if they didn't, since their responsibilities are different." But, he added, there is "no viciousness" in the disagreement and the two men remain "close personal friends."

In fact, the source said, "Simon is the only Cabinet officer whom Kissinger fully trusts." Vice-President Rockefeller's decision to step down next year appears to remove Mr. Simon's last major rival within the administration on domestic economic policy.

Mr. Rockefeller's one important policy proposal in this field — creation of a \$100 billion energy independence authority (EIA) — has "sunk without a trace in Congress," as one source put it. The proposal was opposed by Mr. Simon, but adopted by President Ford.

Mr. Rockefeller lost his battle to gain federal aid for New York City and the President's speech refusing federal aid for the city's school system.

Mr. Simon, despite his secure position with Mr. Ford, plans to leave office after next year's presidential election, he told this newspaper. After "January, 1977" — when the next president is inaugurated — he will no longer head the U.S. Treasury, said Mr. Simon.

He has "absolutely no ambition or desire" to become vice-president, he added. "I do not want to politicize the Secretary of the Treasury. That would be a disaster."

GAO: Pentagon may keep reports to Congress secret

Washington
The Defense Department may legally keep secret its required reports to Congress on pending weapons sales, credit, or aid to foreign countries, the General Accounting Office (GAO) has reported.

Another mystery:

The CIA and the Kurd

By Dana Adams Schmidt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Mullah Mustafa Barzani, the Kurdish leader, whose autonomy movement was crushed by Iraq after Iran withdrew its support last month, was brought to the United States secretly by the CIA, given a medical checkup and a tour of the United States, was kept in total isolation, and then, over his protests, sent back to Iran.

Mr. Barzani begged to see Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and tolerated his total isolation up to the last moment in the belief that this was the condition of his meeting Dr. Kissinger and other American leaders.

At a house in the woods of McLean, Virginia, near CIA headquarters, where he was kept with a joint escort of agents of the CIA and Savak, the Iranian secret police, Mr. Barzani met with Joseph J. Sisco, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, late in October.

At this meeting Mr. Barzani asked to stay longer but was told he must return to Iran. He asked if he could go instead to Switzerland or Sweden but was told he must go first to Iran.

The bizarre story was told to The Christian Science Monitor by an unimpeachable source who talked to Mr. Barzani while he was in the country, from the first week of September until Oct. 28.

Mr. Sisco, in Florida with President Ford and President Sadat of Egypt, could not be reached for comment. Other high-ranking State Department officials said they knew nothing about the visit.

Kurdish sources in the United States said they had been assured by Sen. Henry Jackson (D) of Washington and by the CIA that had Mr. Barzani been allowed to remain he would have been given generous hospitality in this country.

The visit was disclosed in connection with a leak from the House Intelligence Committee that President Nixon, by agreement with the Shah of Iran, had ordered the CIA in 1972 to acquire Soviet or Chinese arms and send them to the Kurds.

The CIA, which along with the State Department felt the operation was unwise, followed presidential orders in acquiring millions of dollars worth of Soviet and Chinese weapons and sent them, via Iran to the Kurds. The disclosure is a historic landmark in that it shows that the President of the United



By Sven Simon

Barzani: gets secret U.S. tour

States made an attempt, albeit secret, to help the embattled Kurds. It lends irony to the final episode in the story in which the CIA served as Mr. Barzani's secret host in the U.S.

The few sources who would acknowledge that Mr. Barzani was in fact brought to this country would not speculate as to why the CIA brought him here in the first place. One explanation was that the Americans felt an obligation to the rebel leader and thought it could be met with a trip to the U.S. for the medical checkup.

According to the source of the information about Mr. Barzani's visit to the United States, the Kurdish leader was assured by Mr. Sisco that the United States knew nothing until it happened about the agreement on March 6 between the Shah of Iran and the Iraqi Government under which the Kurds were left suddenly without support and obliged to flee into Iran.

This was one of the key questions that Mr. Barzani wanted to put to Dr. Kissinger. He hoped also to be allowed to put before the American public the tragedy that befell his people, the informant says, but until the moment of his unwilling departure, insisted that he must respect his hosts' demand for secrecy.

While he was in the U.S., Mr. Barzani learned, the informant said, that the Iranian Government has decided to send back to Iraq by Dec. 10 most of about 80,000 of the Kurdish refugees still in Iran. Many of those who are being sent back are going unwillingly, he said.

United States

What the Rolling Stone says about Patty Hearst now

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

San Francisco
Two years ago a young prize-winning reporter at the Detroit Free Press became the central figure in a still unresolved "kidnapping" mystery. The mystery ended with the reporter being fired by editors who said he lied to them.

Today, as an associate editor for Rolling Stone magazine, Howard Kohn has bounced back in the headlines — this time on the periphery of still another tangled kidnapping. With writer David Weir he has co-authored "inside story" articles purporting to tell what really happened to Patricia Hearst.

With plenty of colorful every-day details, flowing narrative, and direct quotes, the first installment gave an indirect account, allegedly by Miss Hearst herself, on how she was kidnapped and asked to join the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) seven weeks after her kidnapping. The story also described how she evaded the FBI reportedly with the help of sports critic Jack Scott.

A second installment describes Miss Hearst's alleged growing disillusionment with the SLA, her increasing homesickness, and her capture — allegedly the indirect result of her quarrel with Emily and William Harris in which she charged that male chauvinism lay behind past SLA violence.

But, was the series a product of unreliable journalism — or was it a skillfully reported effort to give a "real life feeling" to personalities and events which daily headlines blow up "larger than life"?

Although the articles' descriptions of sources and the background of author Howard Kohn raised these questions, firm answers are blocked by the reluctance of law-enforcement agencies to outline their evidence for trial — and by the duty of defense lawyers to protect their clients.

In an interview with the authors at Rolling Stone offices here, Mr. Kohn described his approach as a form of "new journalism," a vivid way of bringing people and events alive through narrative.

"We operate like insurance investigators and piece together different pieces of information into one picture of what happened," Mr. Weir explained. As a safeguard, any controversial point must be verified by at least

two sources before a primary or secondary account told to a reporter is turned into novel-like narrative, he added.

To the suggestion that such reconstruction might distort facts, Mr. Kohn replies that even the strict rules of a daily newspaper can distort by leaving out important dimensions.

But the sharpest question to the credibility of the Rolling Stone accounts springs from the May, 1973, incident in which Mr. Kohn was fired by the Free Press after admitting that he lied to his editors when he told them, for publication, that he had been kidnapped at gunpoint and held overnight while investigating narcotics traffic and police corruption.

After editors confronted him with inconsistencies in his first story he told several different stories, according to Neal Shina, Free Press managing editor. Mr. Shina says he still does not know what really happened.

Mr. Kohn now says he was in fact kidnapped by a man who grabbed a gun from the reporter was carrying and tried to force him to reveal the names of his sources so that they could be killed.

Mr. Shina describes Mr. Kohn as a good reporter with great skill at developing sources, but says that because of past events he would "have to read with skepticism anything Mr. Kohn writes." Rolling Stone editor Jan Wenner says his own check found the incident "completely understandable and forgivable."

Meanwhile, Steven Sollah, accused of sheltering Miss Hearst, was indicted in Sacramento this week on charges of bank robbery involving a murder. If convicted he could face a mandatory life term.

U.S. arms found better; Soviets excel in field

By Reuter

Washington
The United States has developed weapons superior to those of the Soviet Union, but Russia is making a greater effort than the U.S. to improve its forces in the field, the Pentagon said recently.

The director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, also said he thought the Soviet Union was militarily outpacing the U.S., but that it was difficult to say by how much.

New CIA chief could give spying a better name

By Clayton Jones
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
President Ford's nomination of George Bush, U.S. envoy to Peking, to be director of the Central Intelligence Agency may be the beginning of a new image for America's top spy agency.

His confirmation will be rough going for the former United Nations ambassador since his new command is so closely linked to the Senate and House investigations of U.S. spy work.

But, if appointed, his position will follow one of the key recommendations of the Rockefeller Commission, which reported in June that "consideration should be given to individuals from outside the career service of the CIA. Experience in intelligence service is not necessarily a prerequisite."

Indeed, Mr. Bush's background is more political. He twice ran for the House and won, twice ran for the Senate and lost, and was named chairman of the Republican National Committee just as the Watergate revelations began to break.

He follows a 30-year line of CIA directors — James R. Schlesinger excepted — with career roots in an agency noted for worldwide action. Mr. Bush, at the urging of Congress, may return the CIA to its originally designated role of sifting and evaluating evidence for policy-makers.

Morale at the CIA has eroded, according to William Nelson, deputy director of operations, after a year of intelligence leaks.

"The structure is becoming more fragile. Foreign agents are coming to us and saying the U.S. is not capable of keeping secrets and that they won't deal with us anymore," he said. "People under jeopardy are backing away."

[In a related action, Army Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham has resigned as chief of the Defense Intelligence Agency. According to a Reuter report from Washington, General Graham's leaving was linked directly to the firing of Defense Secretary Schlesinger.]

Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee Otis Pike (D) of New York criticizes the choice of Mr. Bush for the possible "politicizing" of the CIA that could evolve.

"What I see as going wrong with the CIA was not when the pros at the agency were left alone," Mr. Pike said. "Where they got into trouble was when the pros were told to do something by the politicians."

Despite the firing of CIA Director William Colby, the CIA is "still functioning effectively," said Mr. Nelson. But he urged the

quick reorganization of the CIA and the establishment of a joint congressional oversight committee.

How Mr. Bush, a former congressman, will deal with the two investigations now one-third finished on Capitol Hill depends on President Ford's willingness to furnish further classified documents.



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From page 1

*A Kremlin-like look

What Mr. Ford's words might suggest to the analyst is that he not only knows but wants General Scowcroft to be independent of Dr. Kissinger — and that one purpose of the reorganization was to secure a truly independent National Security Adviser.

It is said that Mr. Ford's first choice to replace Kissinger in that post was John Marsh, perhaps the hardest of the foreign policy hardliners on the White House staff, and that the President dropped this intention only when Kissinger strongly objected to it. If this is true, it would show the direction of Mr. Ford's thoughts, and his wish to clip Kissinger's wings — even though for the present he might be content with plucking just a few feathers from them.

A Soviet analyst who tries to read between the lines would note Mr. Ford's ominous explanation that Dr. Kissinger's "dominant role" in the field of foreign policy was determined by his responsibilities as Secretary of State — and that it would be balanced in the military field by the "dominant role" of the new Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld.

For the Kremlin, this is the crux of the matter — and not only for the Kremlin, for the SALT negotiations have for a number of years constituted the main highway of U.S. foreign policy, linked as they were with the whole question of détente and of East-West relations generally, not just U.S.-Soviet relations.

The Soviet analyst, searching Mr. Ford's remarks for clues to his attitude to SALT, will pay particular attention to the President's refusal to hurry as contrasted with Dr. Kissinger's belief that time is of the essence.

Dr. Kissinger fears that, if there is no SALT II agreement before the Soviet Party Con-

gress in February, then the possible retirement of Leonid Brezhnev and the U.S. election campaign might play havoc with further progress. But Mr. Ford objected repeatedly to the notion that the United States was under any "time pressure" to conclude the SALT II negotiations.

The drama and the shock of Schlesinger's dismissal made it seem as if this were the main element of Mr. Ford's Cabinet reshuffle. The Kremlin's first impressions were no doubt the same as those of Western observers, as summed up by the headline over a New York Times editorial — "Kissinger up." But in Washington, as in Kremlinology, there is no substitute for the study of texts when the decision-making process is so secretive that public statements are the only source of information, as happened in this case. The Kremlin's more considered analysis would therefore lead it to the conclusion that Kissinger is down — but not out.

How long Dr. Kissinger stays may well depend on how much progress there is in the coming months on SALT II. If he can bring off an agreement before the Soviet Party Congress, this could prove to be the crowning achievement of his career and a good time to retire, of his own free will, in a cloud of glory.

This may be why he is staying on, at a time when his power is being whittled down. The paradox of power has caught up with the practitioner of power. Mr. Ford may feel no "time pressure," although both Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Brezhnev, facing the possibility of early retirement, must feel the pressure keenly. But the prospect of retirement also saps their political power and makes it more difficult for them to respond to the pressure.

(c) 1975 Victor Zorza

From page 1

*Paper money couldn't buy

daily, and the Cape Times, published in Cape Town.

All in all the company accounts for almost half the important English-language newspapers in South Africa and, although they are not all so successful as the booming Sunday Times, they have one thing in common: they all oppose the National Party government, some of them stridently. Also, they are nearly all highly critical of the falling major opposition party, the United Party.

So the first reaction when Mr. Luyt announced his bid — and transferred millions in cash into a Johannesburg bank to support his offer — was that this was a transparent trick to get control of an important section of the opposition press.

But Mr. Luyt said "No." Falling profits had reduced the stock exchange listing of the group's stock to such a degree, he said, that financially, it had become "a sitting duck" and he was just in it for money.

The plot thickened when it was disclosed that one of his partners was John P. McGoff, the Michigan publisher, who has friendly ties with the South African Information Minister, Dr. Connie Mulder.

That was not the end of the matter. Just before Mr. Luyt suddenly increased his offer to \$7 a share, Sir de Villiers Graaff, a mustachioed baronet who is leader of the United Party and himself a millionaire, announced that he, too, was part of the pact and that he would support "substantially" the Luyt takeover bid.

Immediately this reinforced talk that his party was out to do a deal with the ruling National Party at the expense of the third party in the South African Parliament, the Progressive Reform Party.

But there is another reason for his interest.

Sir de Villiers and most newspapers in the Associated Newspaper group are frequently almost bitterly opposed. The feud started more than two years ago when the Sunday Times, commenting on Sir de Villiers' long succession of election defeats, called on him in a front-page report to resign at once if his party was to have any hope of survival.

It was a near thing for the independence of a vital section of South Africa's important free press all the same.

Leaning Tower of Pisa leaning less

Pisa, Italy

The Leaning Tower of Pisa is leaning less this year for the second year in a row, experts say.

The tilt of the 800-year-old landmark increased by an average of nearly a millimeter a year in recent decades. But the rate last year and in the first 10 months of this year was about half a millimeter, according to the sensitive watchguard instruments inside the tower.

Gianni Tagliavini, who heads a commission that is trying to decide on a procedure to stabilize the tower, said the top of the tower leaned a total of five millimeters more in 1974 but so far this year has tilted only another two millimeters. The rate at the bottom is considerably less.

The tower, which draws more than 50,000 visitors a year, is 179 feet high and is now 17 feet off the perpendicular. Mr. Tagliavini said he expected the commission to complete its work early next year.

The commission turned down all proposals entered in an international save-the-tower contest a year ago.

Soviet grain 'raids' dislocate world food economy

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Soviet crop secrecy is "the most destabilizing single factor in the world food economy today," charges an organization of American ecologists; within months after the 1974 Rome food conference agreement to make current crop statistics available, "the Soviet Union was flagrantly violating this element of the global strategy."

Lester R. Brown, president and senior researcher at World-Watch Institute here, formerly with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, argues that the situation will not be cleared up until Canada and the United States agree on a common grain policy and form a "Joint U.S.-Canadian Commission on Food Policy."

These two countries, Mr. Brown says, have a closer control of grain supplies in an increasingly hungry world than the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries has on oil. "Food," he says, "represents political power." He argues that Canada and the U.S. should make plans to exercise their life-and-death power responsibly.

World population increase is outstripping world food increase, declares a new 43-page World Watch report by Mr. Brown. In a matter of a few years, Canada and the United States may be deciding which importing countries eat and which starve, it is noted.

This is a far more basic problem than the unpredictable raids of Russia on the world grain market where "secretive, erratic, massive Soviet purchases are a major source of instability in the world food economy."

Recent U.S. negotiations with Russia have smoothed out some difficulties, the report says.

Grain reserves against world starvation are down to what the report sees as an alarming 31 days (ratio of average annual grain consumption to stocks on hand) as contrasted to 105 days in 1962.

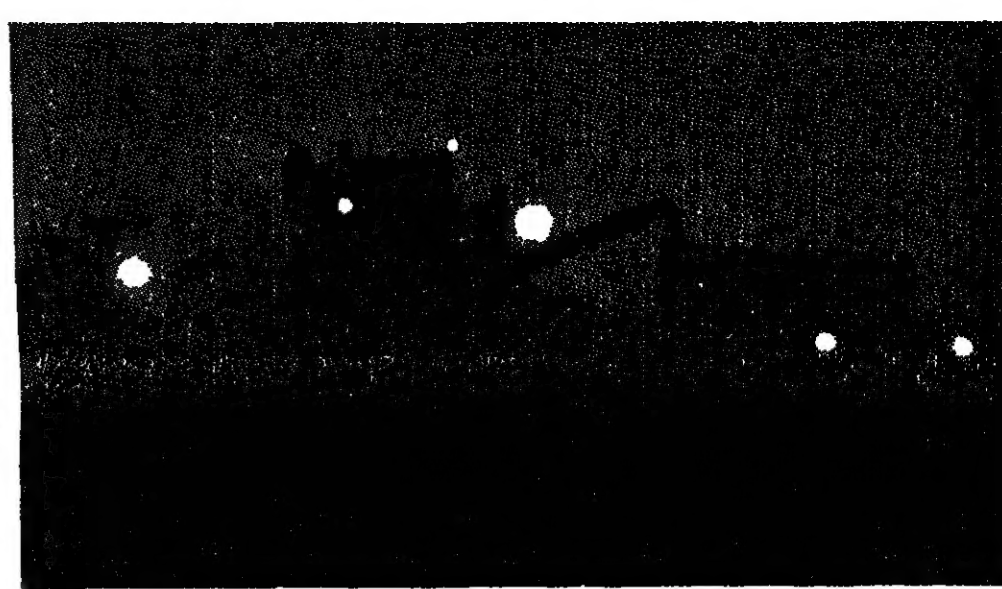
The U.S. has thrown 50 million acres of reserve crop land into the war on hunger, with only temporary effect, the World Watch study finds.

World grain prices have tripled while import demands rise, and countries like Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, and Brazil have 3 percent population growth rate, equivalent to a 19-fold population increase within a century. (Brazil would jump from 108 millions to 2 billion.)

This can't last, ecologist Brown says; Canada and the United States, which comprise the world's bread basket, must plan ahead.

"The issue is no longer whether food represents power but how that power is to be used," the report continues.

The whim of the weather in the North American breadbasket affects lives of tens of



AP photo

Night harvest near Rostov: the granary didn't deliver

millions, figures show. One region "has emerged as a supplier of food to the rest of the world."

In 1934-38 Latin America, Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R., Africa, Asia and Australia and New Zealand were all grain exporters.

Western Europe was the great importer (24 million metric tons). North America exported only 5 million metric tons.

In 1975 there is an extraordinary change. North America export is up to 94 million metric tons. Every other area is now a grain importer save Australia-New Zealand, which exports 8 million tons.

"If one were to select the single dominant factor transforming world trade patterns in recent decades," the report says, "it would be varying rates of population growth."

From page 1

*Ford's big shuffle: what it means

And that in turn meant that their views were presented to the President through Dr. Kissinger's eyes and with his gloss put upon them.

Dr. Kissinger in the future will be Secretary of State, and only Secretary of State. As such he is the senior Cabinet officer and sits on the right hand of the President at Cabinet meetings. But he also is only one among equals. He will no longer see the President alone for an hour each morning. Instead, he, and the Secretary of Defense, and the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Secretary of the Treasury and others will all together see the President — once a week.

Dr. Kissinger will still have the right, as does any Cabinet officer, to request a private meeting with the President, and presumably will be

granted such a meeting from time to time. And the President has specifically said that Dr. Kissinger will continue to "have the dominant role in the formulation and the carrying out of foreign policy."

But it is one thing to see the President alone for an hour every morning and it is another thing to see him once a week in company with others who have a serious interest in the making of foreign policy. The others will have an equal chance to put forward any point of view at variance with Dr. Kissinger's.

Then add the third facet of the new equation in the person of George Bush. He also is on Mr. Ford's list of possible vice-presidential running mates. He has been in Peking and is presumably familiar with the Chinese disapproval of the Kissinger policy of détente. He will take over the CIA from Wil-

lam Colby. Mr. Colby has been in effect, the damage-control officer at CIA. He has been totally occupied for the past year in trying to get the CIA through congressional investigations and ready for a reorganization.

Mr. Bush has had no past association with the CIA. He is not responsible for past mistakes. There is no reason for Congress to want to take up most of his time as it has been doing with Mr. Colby. Once Mr. Bush is confirmed by the Senate he should be able to start operating as the President's principal source of intelligence. And the CIA, like the Defense Department, will have a leader who is a personal friend of the President and who can have the same access to him as Mr. Rumsfeld at Defense or Dr. Kissinger at State.

So the prospect is not for any break in basic American

foreign policy, but for a decided change in the process of foreign policy formulation. It will no longer be a one-man (Kissinger) show. Dr. Kissinger will continue to propose and to execute, after approval by the President. But between proposing and execution, Defense, Treasury, and CIA will have a fair chance to present any views they may have bearing on the subject under consideration.

It will probably make for slower and more cautious foreign policy action. The Chinese point of view is likely to get more attention, through Mr. Bush. The NATO, West European, and Arab points of view may get more attention through Mr. Rumsfeld.

The collective process in foreign-policy-making is slower than the one-man process which Dr. Kissinger has been practicing. But it should be sounder.

From page 1

*NATO assesses Pentagon switch

If Mr. Schlesinger's departure does indeed mean that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's line promoting détente is to prevail, then Peking cannot welcome it. Moscow, conversely, could be delighted.

West Europeans confess to ambivalence in their feelings toward Dr. Kissinger, who was Mr. Schlesinger's great rival in the Cabinet. They admire the Secretary of State's achievements in the Middle East and his negotiating skill on matters as complex as the limitation of strategic arms. But they have felt frequently that he tended to go over their heads in direct dealings with Moscow on matters which intimately affected their security. Mr. Schlesinger's presence in the Cabinet was seen by many as a counterbalancing force, arguing continuously the need not to bargain away the

substance of military adequacy that alone kept détente from becoming illusory.

Dr. Kissinger, it is conceded, made no bones about the need for adequate military defense nor about the fact that détente was possible only as the Western alliance kept its powder dry. In terms of the public image of the Ford Cabinet, however, many here felt it was useful to have one strong man, Dr. Kissinger, making the running for political détente, while another intellectual giant, Mr. Schlesinger, emphasized the military underpinnings effective, détente would require.

"If only Mr. Ford considered himself strong enough to keep both men in," one West European journalist sighed. "They were in a way the two pillars of American policy toward the Russians."

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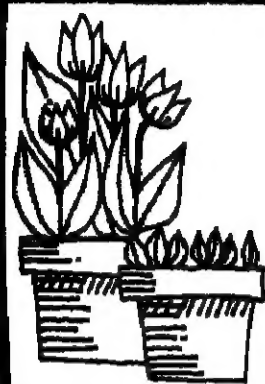
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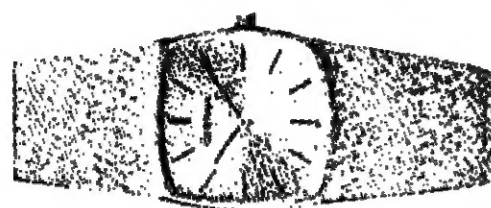
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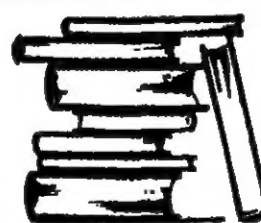
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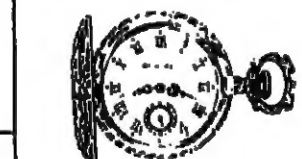
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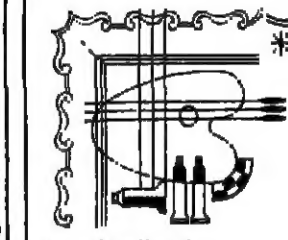
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A glimpse inside the U.S.R.'s 'West'

The three Baltic states — Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania — absorbed by the Soviet Union in 1940, now lead the U.S.S.R. in general livability of cities and farms, flow of information from other countries, worker output, average personal income, quality of consumer goods and services, housing space, and modern art. They have managed to retain their national flavor despite Soviet pressure to conform.



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

Elizabeth Pond
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Vilnius, Lithuania, U.S.S.R.
To an Englishman the Baltic states mean clammy northern seacoast. To an American they come into focus as Moscow's World War II acquisition that Washington has never recognized as part of the Soviet Union. To a Russian, however, the Baltic republics mean simply "the West" — or at least the closest approximation that is accessible to him.

The Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania became part of the Soviet Union in 1940 after the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact divided up Eastern Europe between Berlin and Moscow and the Red Army rolled west. For the Baltic nations it was the end of a brief fling of independence between world wars after centuries of foreign domination — by Germans, Danes, Poles, Swedes, and, from the 18th century, Russians.

The three countries, with a combined population then of 6 million (7 million now) and a territory about equal to the state of Missouri, were unable to resist. In 1941 they were occupied by the Germans in a blitzkrieg, then heavily damaged as the Soviet Army pushed the Germans back in 1944.

Their leadership was decimated, both by the Nazis and by the Stalinist purges that sent a higher percentage of Balts to Siberian labor camps than almost any other Soviet nationality.

The Iron Curtain parts for tourists and TV

Nowhere the three managed to hang onto their national identities, however, and in the 1960s they emerged with their own distinctive character. Estonian, located only 50 miles from Helsinki across the Gulf of Finland, has international ties to a large group of Estonian emigrants in Sweden and elsewhere and a cosmopolitan Scandinavian flavor. Latvia, in spite of textile and railroad car industries and international oil and grain ports, has a more bucolic air. Lithuania, with its strong Roman Catholic influence and other similarities to Poland, has a Central European atmosphere.

To Russians Estonia is the most "Western" of the three. Tallinn's cafes are charming, its clothes and hairstyles are the most up-to-date. Its access to Western news and ideas is virtually unlimited, through its excellent reception of Helsinki television in Estonia's sister tongue of Finnish. Swarms of Finnish tourists come to Tallinn, and an increasing number of Estonian tourists take the ferry to Helsinki. (There is no

dangerous; Finland returns any would-be arms to the Soviet Union.)

Just south of Estonia, Latvia has the Baltic ports most favored by Soviet Slav tourists. A strong interest in sports and takes part in its world champion javelin thrower, Olympic European cup winning women's basketball team, and its new ice hockey team took it into the A League two years ago. It's rock bands and delicious pastry.

France is Lithuania — a much more traditional, much less international nation than Italy is the nesting ground for those architects that winter in East Africa. It has *preserved* the old art of woodcarving — and at the same time it has *pushed* contemporary sculpture and architecture further than the rest of the world. Its capital, Vilnius, was once the center of European Jewry — but the only Jew now is a down-at-heel synagogues' graves in the Paneriai death-camp.

In Lithuanian nationalism flared into anti-Russian passions that had to be suppressed.

Grounds for non-Russian culture

With success all three Baltic states have achieved. Pleading the need for an education system to master the Russian language, they have begun their 11-year basic educational system. The former Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's production of a standard 10-year system for the Soviet Union. They all have the same goal: to bring their national literatures and theaters — and folk song festivals with massed

In a national language and literature competition, Estonians are the most competitive of the Baltic states. Estonians and Lithuanians have jealously kept their own main languages in schools and abroad this was extended even to the naming of new buildings. The names of the main streets in Tallinn were changed into variants of Marx Boulevard.

The Catholics have maintained their Roman Catholicism in spite of the intensive Soviet campaign. Churches are packed for each of the six or six services on Sundays, and the church has become a kind of tacit symbol of Lithuanian nationalism.

The East has the highest per capita production of living in the Soviet Union. One reason for this is the large investments made during the early years to blunt hostility. Another important reason is the Germanic work ethic. Skilled

workers are adapting readily to sophisticated electronics and consumer-goods production.

Even in agriculture, the Soviet Achilles heel, the Bulls hold their own. With their often stony, often boggy podzol, they are not especially well endowed. But they are the top dairy and potato producers in the Soviet Union, and their grain yield is almost on a par with the fertile Ukraine.

Anti-Russian feeling; no dreams of autonomy

In population, the Baltic nationalities have not managed to keep their own identities in their capitals, the cultural and administrative power-centers. Russians who have migrated here since World War II now constitute 55.7 percent of the population of Estonia's Tallinn, 42.7 percent of Latvia's Riga (as against only 40.1 percent Latvians), and a high 29.8 percent of the entire Latvian population. In Lithuania's Vilnius the natives are a minority of 43 percent. Bails speak of this Russian incursion with some bitterness.

It would be a mistake to exaggerate anti-Russian feeling in political terms, however. Given the geographic realities, most Balts do not waste their time with impossible dreams of real autonomy.

Will the Helsinki summit on detente make any difference in the Baltic republics?

No — neither in the direction Moscow would like nor in the direction the West would like. Before the conference President Ford explicitly excluded the Baltic states from American recognition of Soviet borders. The aging diplomats of the prowar Baltic republics are still accredited to Washington.

Conversely, there is no sign that the gates will suddenly be flung open to Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian emigres to visit here en masse — much less invite their cousins abroad en masse.

"We cannot speak one-sidedly only about humanism," Lithuanian Deputy Foreign Minister Vytautas M. Zenvicius told American journalists when asked about the Helsinki conference. The arms race is what is really "inhuman" and "obstructs people's contacts." So disarmament must be achieved before individual contacts can increase, he concluded.

The more likely prospect is that the Baltic republics will go on after the Helsinki conference much as they did before. They will continue to lead the Soviet Union in per capita production, productivity, average personal income, quality of consumer goods and services, housing space, modern art, and general livability of their cities and farms.

And they will assuredly continue to be Russia's "West."



The Soviet Baltic republics: phones and up-to-date fashions . . .



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Tallinn, Estonia and non-Russian national folk festivals

Russian Orthodox church in Tallinn - where the facade is Russian but the feeling Western

By Elizabeth Ponce

Impeachment threat hangs over Mrs. Peron

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The position of Argentina's hard-pressed head of state is once again uncertain.

President María Estela Martínez de Peron has been threatened by the Argentine Congress with impeachment proceedings over a \$700,000 check she signed last July. Some sources allege the check represented an attempt to divert funds from a welfare group that she headed to a private account.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Peron was hospitalized Nov. 3 amid reports she might be absent from office for another three to four weeks.

Before these latest developments, Mrs. Peron had seemed more firmly in office than at any other time in the past six months. A tough economic package, aimed at slowing Argentina's spiraling inflation, had been accepted by labor and business.

Moreover, her political prospects looked more favorable as divisions between Per-

onism and other political forces were disappearing. A basic political realignment appeared under way.

Mrs. Peron had resumed the presidency only four weeks ago after a month-long rest, during which there was much speculation that her days as president were numbered. Then came the economic and political developments that seemed to strengthen her rule.

Now, Argentine observers are not so sure. With the military hovering in the background, Mrs. Peron's aides are expected to try to keep the government afloat, but her absence and the threat of impeachment could lead to a peremptory decision on her removal.

Senate President Italo A. Luder, who stood in for Mrs. Peron during her month's rest, is next in line for the presidency. Some observers thought that he would quietly assume the full presidency while Mrs. Peron was away Sept. 13 to Oct. 16. But her return ended that theory.

Many in and around government, including high military officials, favor a new face as head of state. Mrs. Peron's latest difficulties

strengthen their position.

Moreover, the continuing terrorist problem with its implicit threat to stability argues for new leaders and new methods of dealing with the country's problems. More than 1,000 persons have been killed in political violence since July, 1974, when Mrs. Peron assumed the presidency on the passing of her husband, Juan Domingo Peron.

The Peronist movement for decades was arrayed against other political groups in the country. But the terrorist threat and the simultaneous economic chaos have begun to change this. Peronism and its traditional opposition, the Radical Party, are working together in Congress, and a new alignment of political forces is developing.

The heterogeneous Peronist movement began to fall apart at Mr. Peron's passing. Its coherence as a group had been largely due to the force of his personality, and Mrs. Peron has not been able to hold it together.

Her latest problems could well bring her government down and spell the end of the Peronist movement at the same time.



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Richard L. Strout honored by fellow journalists

A reporter's reflections on America

On a happy occasion like this the speaker, I believe, is supposed to strike a forward-looking and inspirational note. I hope I can do as well as Sen. Kenneth Wherry of Nebraska in a speech in Missouri in 1940. This notable orator was discussing the future of China, and the American dream, and he wound up in a great peroration to a wildly cheering audience.

"With God's help we will lift Shanghai up and up — ever up . . . until it is just like Kansas City!"

That was part of America's innocence; something that has been lost, I believe, in the half century I have been in Washington.

In 1923 I drove down from Boston to Washington in a towering seven-foot Model T, and it took three days. That was the car where you measured your gasoline by getting out, lifting the front seat, and sounding the tank with a yardstick.

It's hard to reconstruct 1923 today. There wasn't any Pentagon, the "State, War and Navy Building" beside the White House still held all the State Department and parts of the other two agencies; Harry Truman hadn't put the porch on the back of the White House. Population was half today's; you could buy four tokens on the trolley for 30 cents, and though the postage stamps didn't carry pretty pictures they cost only 2 cents.

I always wanted to be a big spender, but I never thought it would come by buying bread, and bacon, and postage stamps!

As a journalist I note, too, that in 1923 there were 16 different makes of motorcars com-

Richard Strout, who has worked in the Monitor's Washington bureau 52 years, was recently awarded the prestigious Fourth Estate Award by the National Press Club for his distinguished service to American journalism. Only two other persons, Walter Cronkite and James Reston, have been so honored. The following is condensed from the speech given by Mr. Strout on this memorable occasion.



(I am surprised to find how many people mistake longevity for profundity.)

Harding was the handsome, genial, vulgar fellow whom Alice Roosevelt Longworth appropriately called a "slob."

Calvin Coolidge found duties so easy that he napped in the afternoon; it was said of him that he was weaned on a pickle.

There was Herbert Hoover, a towering figure in many ways, caught in an economic Greek tragedy he never understood.

FDR, elected four times — the greatest president of my time: a superb combination of Machiavelli's lion and fox.

Harry Truman, a spunky little fox terrier of a man.

Charming, bumbling Eisenhower, who gave us a caretaker government just when we wanted it, but who had the good sense to look at the clock, not to try to turn it back.

JFK, the fairy-tale prince, who gave us a brief, bright Camelot — but who, alas, sent "advisers" into Vietnam.

Lyndon Johnson, an elemental force, who exclaimed one time when I was interviewing him that he was no "babe in arms," and jumped up to my amazement, pacing the floor, rocking an imaginary baby in his arms.

And then there is Richard Nixon. Of them all, I may say, he was the only one I actively disliked, right from the start. He was a flawed and insecure man, I think, who said once, you remember, that "the American people is like a child."

And finally, it's refreshing to add, we have Jerry Ford, an accidental and attractive figure, the least devious of them all, whose crashing virtue is that he isn't Richard Nixon, but who sometimes seems to have difficulty in distinguishing between Running and Governing.

One thing that strikes me, as it may you, is how many things that we knew couldn't happen have happened. I don't mean merely physical accomplishments, like putting a man on the Moon. These are the easy things. We can walk on the Moon but we can't walk in Central Park. I am talking about other things that were "impossible": A Roman Catholic couldn't be elected president. Schools couldn't be desegregated. Federal budgets couldn't be expanded in a recession. Birth control couldn't be discussed publicly. Public welfare was "socialism." U.S. troops couldn't be kept in Europe in peacetime. Oh, yes, and there was a more pervasive myth: Americans couldn't lose a war.

This has been an extraordinarily fascinating half century from Teapot Dome to Watergate. It has marked, I think, America's coming of age. We have lost our innocence. This is a trying process but we have, I think, a more realistic view today of the world we live in. We supposed that when we became a world power our moral superiority and our wealth would lead the world to better things. There was the Utopian evangelism of Woodrow Wilson; I would not sneer at this idealism; on the one hand it led us to the Marshall Plan . . . on the other into the Vietnam war.

In just a few years we have lost our illusion of omnipotence. We have lost the safety of distance. In a shrinking world we have to reach an accommodation with the nuclear

bomb. Some of our seemingly endless resources threaten to give out.

Nearer at home we have suffered a series of humiliations. I don't just mean Watergate, I mean the thought that behind our back government forces were playing with poisoned darts with the idea of assassinating foreign leaders! In brief, I think we are a decent people suffering a sharp recession in our spiritual standard of living; we are temporarily living above our material means, and below our spiritual means.

The problems that we faced in the past 50 years seem relatively simple, I think, compared to those ahead.

I don't mean to say that these new problems are insoluble; I do feel that the clock of history has speeded up. The pace of history is overtaking our capacity to adjust. The margin of error is shrinking.

Take the global picture, for example. There are 4 billion people on earth and the birthrate is such that the population will double in 35 years. That's not a long time, really; about the time from Franklin Roosevelt till today. And where will this doubled population go? Who will feed them? My friend Lester Brown, the demographer, simply says they won't be fed, population won't double. Pestilence and war and nature will take charge of human fertility if people won't, he thinks.

(And while I'm about it, let me toss off a thought: the Population Explosion is everybody's baby.)

Here's another solemn thought. Of all the people on earth today only 5 percent are Americans, and yet we consume one-third of all the energy, one-third of the food, and enjoy one-half of the world's income. I ask you, in all simplicity, can a disparity like this last? Personally I think it can't, and I think much of the news in the next 50 years is going to turn on whether we yield to the inevitable graciously, or vindictively.



Cheer up; don't despair! But note that the planet is so restless already that it spends \$240 billion annually on armaments — to "protect" a world population, most of whose citizens earn less than \$100 a year.

Here at home my impression is that a good many injustices are slowly being ameliorated. When I was a boy the World Almanac every year published a table of lynchings; that dreadful table has long since disappeared. Racial injustices continue but my impression is that they are not growing worse, but more visible. Yet the potential instability of our society constantly impresses me. One person in 11 in the world's richest country is below the "poverty" line. And about one American in 11 is nonwhite. One thing is certain, if we ever have social turbulence the weapons are right there: there are 24 million handguns available with a couple million more added each year.

I don't offer these pessimistic appraisals with the idea of sending you away shamed in gloom. After the Sixties we are halfway through the Uncertain Seventies. There is something to be said, I think, for a little salutary anxiety from time to time.

One of my favorite worries is about our form of government. The power of the president inevitably grows and grows. We encourage a kind of mysticism, a religiosity about the presidency. It is a sanctification of the office and deification of the man, and I think it is dangerous.

I have meant to be challenging in this talk, which has ranged from presidents I have known to problems of the future. So let me end with some comforting reflections. We have escaped most of the dangers that might have engulfed us.

Though we criticize America's "materialism" there is no more generous or idealistic nation on earth. There is no more stunning statistic than that we have made the leap from a median elementary school education for everybody to a median high school education, and done it in a few years.

I have criticized the American Government, but I believe there is no more open capital in the world than Washington; few secrets



thank God, are kept long and, as a working journalist, I get tremendous satisfaction from this. It is not so much the occasional News Leaks, it is the steady, persistent News Ooze.

So I come back, in the end, to the American dream. We should make affirmation of our belief guardedly, with the spare reserve of E. B. White's definition of "democracy":

"Democracy is the recurrent suspicion that more than half the people are right more than half the time."

I have advice for fellow journalists. I hope they will stay committed. I hope they will retain their curiosity — their interest; yes, and at their heart a touch of anger. When the little flame of anger flickers out I think it is time for the reporter to think about going into some more remunerative form of work!

I agree with Ronald Steel: "America's worth to the world will be measured not by the solutions she seeks to impose on others, but by the degree to which she achieves her ideals at home."

So let me end with a quotation from that tough old Yankee historian Samuel Eliot Morison who was not given to sentimental trivialities:

"If the American Revolution had achieved nothing but the Declaration of Independence, it would have been worth while. . . . The beauty and elegance of the Preamble, reaching back to remotest antiquity and forward to an indefinite future, have lifted the hearts of millions of men and will continue to do so."

"We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

"These words," said Morison, "are more revolutionary than anything written by Robespierre, Marx, or Lenin, more explosive than the atom, a continual challenge to ourselves, as well as an inspiration to the oppressed of all the world."

home

Housewife's workshop

Are you happy in the kitchen?

By Elizabeth Hart

London

Most professionals these days demand efficient, up-to-date workrooms. For too many years the British housewife has been a patient exception.

Take a look at your kitchen. When you are at the sink are you standing in your own shadow? How far do you have to walk between sink, cooker and refrigerator or cupboard? According to an information sheet free from the British Gas Council, you walk too far if the total distance is more than 22 feet (about 6700 mm).

Is your kitchen without its own windows or is it just a corner of a bed-sitting room? An air extractor will help whip the smells and steam away.

If you intend to transform the kitchen completely, expert help is at hand. Large department stores have planners on their staff ready to give advice, national magazines offer individualized planning service, and experts from the Gas and Electricity Councils are specially trained to help.

The Design Council publishes its helpful "Kitchens, Planning Notes" (45p), conducts training courses, and employs designers to foresee the amazing kitchens of the future. H. M. Stationery Office puts out a useful booklet "Spaces in the Home, Kitchens and Laundry spaces" (£1.05).

Apart from the design of the room, what about budgeting the time you spend there?

"Life is too short to stuff a mushroom," is the motto of "Superwoman" (Sidgwick and Jackson, £3.95), a new, amusing, and practical guide to running a home by Shirley Conran, an experienced woman's editor and "home-runner." A mushroom may taste better stuffed, but you probably wouldn't choose to waste time preparing it.

"It's not so much gadgets as organization of time which help," according to a qualified lecturer on catering and home economics.

"Make lists," she recommends, "lists of food needed for special menus, lists of missing basics. Then, if freezing and storage space allow, shop once a month with more frequent purchases of perishables."

She suggests, space allowing; buying in bulk to save money as well as time.

"The proper use of few simple implements is better than falling for the latest gadget demonstrated in the store," the lecturer says. "It may — or may not — work when you get it home, and it will take time to clean. For example, learn to press cloves of garlic with a knife rather than through a garlic press which then has to be unclogged."

She also recommends a short, basic course in food preparation to help beginners and to break the time-wasting habits of the more experienced. "There is waste in the bad use of the right equipment."

"A sense of order" is what another professional home economist learned to value when she married and had a baby. Because she prefers reaching to bending she has several open shelves in her kitchen. Ingredients like sugar, flour, and similar ingredients are emptied into wide-neck jars which with its own scoop, to save unnecessary motion and a bit of time. Her measuring scales and hand-mixer are hung on this wall, clear of the working surface but near.

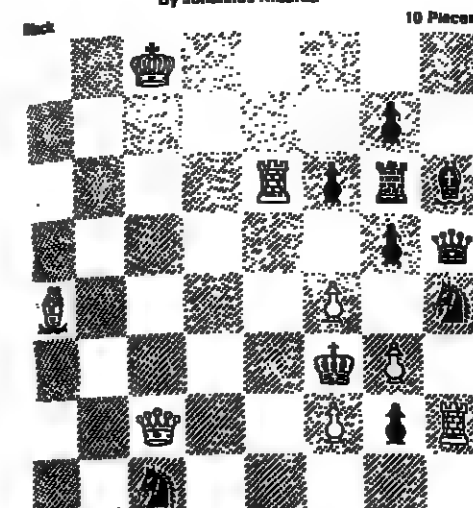
This home economist bakes once a week, freezing a certain portion. This practice is encouraged by the Home Appliances Press Office of the Electricity Council. Filling an oven with several items which can be cooked at the same temperature saves fuel. According to the Press Office, cooking just one item in a large oven is one of the most common, and most wasteful, habits.

chess

By Frederick R. Chevalier
Prepared for The Christian Science Monitor

Problem No. 6741

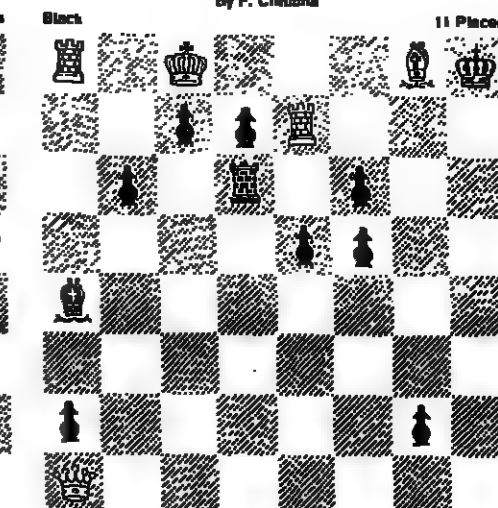
By Johannes Allard



White to play and mate in two.
(First prize, Problemblad, 1948.)

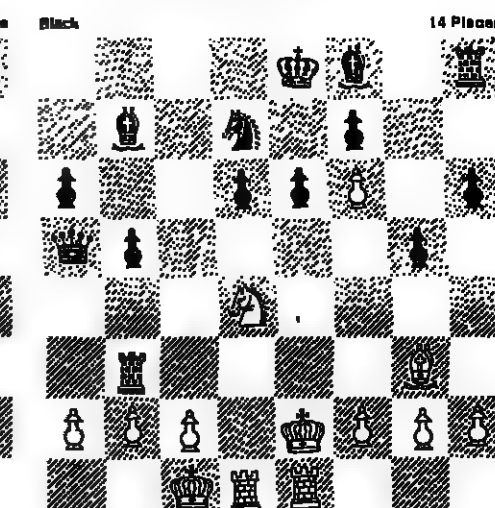
Problem No. 6742

By F. Chlubna



White to play and mate in three.
(Themas-64, 1973.)

End-Game No. 2225



White to play and win.
(The newly crowned Italian grandmaster won this in a tournament on the Italian Riviera. His opponent was H. Eppler.)

Here, with corrections, is the Chess column originally run Oct. 21.

Solutions to Problems

No. 6739 R-KB2
No. 6740 1 B-KB5, 2 P-K4
No. 6741 1 B-KB5, 2 P-K4
No. 6742 1 B-KB5, 2 P-K4
No. 6743 1 B-KB5, 2 P-K4
No. 6744 1 B-KB5, 2 P-K4
No. 6745 1 B-KB5, 2 P-K4
No. 6746 1 B-KB5, 2 P-K4
No. 6747 1 B-KB5, 2 P-K4
No. 6748 1 B-KB5, 2 P-K4
No. 6749 1 B-KB5, 2 P-K4
No. 6750 1 B-KB5, 2 P-K4

New Italian Grandmaster

Sergio Mariotti of Florence has qualified as an international grandmaster — Italy's only one, at present. When he played first board for Italy in the Nica Olympiad, his score of 12 wins, four draws, and three losses gave him grandmaster rating under F.I.D.E. regulations.

Sicilian Defense

White to play and mate in three.
(Themas-64, 1973.)

Ten Minutes a Game

A diversion that even the strongest players find enjoyable is five-minute chess. Each player is allowed only five minutes on his clock to

complete a game. If his clock shows a second more, he automatically loses.

Usually these offhand encounters don't find their way into print, but two former world champions Mikhail Tal and Tigran Petrosian played an eight-game match recently in Moscow. The result was a tie, 4-4. An opening innovation probably not to be repeated came in the game below.

French Defense

White to play and win.
(The newly crowned Italian grandmaster won this in a tournament on the Italian Riviera. His opponent was H. Eppler.)

Orange bread U.S. style

For the British equivalent of U.S. measurements consider a U.S. cup equal to 5/8 British cup; a U.S. tablespoon equal to 3/4 British tablespoon; a U.S. teaspoon equal to 3/8 British teaspoon.

2 1/2 cups water
1 cup oatmeal
2 packages active dry yeast
2 1/2 teaspoons salt
Rind of 1 orange
1/2 cup butter or margarine
1/2 cup molasses
1 cup milk
1 1/2 cups barley flour
1 cup rye flour
4 cups unsifted all-purpose flour

Place in a saucepan 2 cups of the water and the oatmeal; bring to a boil, boil 1 minute, and turn into a mixing bowl; let cool to lukewarm. Sprinkle yeast into remaining water and let stand until dissolved.

With a spoon scrape out the extra white pith from the half shells of the orange. Place the rind in a blender with 2 tablespoons water and blend until finely chopped. Add to the oatmeal mixture the yeast, salt, chopped orange peel, butter, and molasses. Heat milk until warm and stir in. Gradually add the barley, rye, and white flours, mixing to make a soft dough.

Turn out on a lightly floured board and knead until smooth and elastic. Place in a bowl, grease the top lightly, cover, and let rise until doubled in size. Turn out of pan, punch down, and knead to remove air bubbles. Divide in 3 parts and shape into loaves. Place in greased 9-by-5 inch loaf pans or shape into round loaves and place on a greased, baking sheet. Cover and let rise until doubled in size. Bake in a 375 degree F. oven for 30 to 40 minutes, or until the loaves sound hollow when thumped. Makes 3 loaves.



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arts

International film fest: from marvellous to plain awful

By David Sterritt
Film critic of
The Christian Science
Monitor

New York
As happens every autumn, the latest New York Film Festival will have reverberations around the world and at your local cinema. Now that its 21 features and almost as many shorts have finished unspooling at Lincoln Center, fans can settle back for another 12 months of discussion and debate, while casual moviegoers scan newspaper ads for the fest-borne hits that have already started coming their way.

This year's event, the 13th annual, began drearily, then gradually built to a rewarding experience. Though it spotlighted no new trends, it offered a daring movie mix, and pointed out the zestiest film capitals in the world today — the United States, France, and (hot on their heels) West Germany.

The hottest commercial hit introduced at the festival is undoubtedly MGM's *Hearts of the West*, directed by Howard Zieff from a script by newcomer Rob Thompson. A period comedy about Hollywood's old-time westerns, it blends wide-eyed nostalgia and campy heroics in just the right light-hearted recipe at a filmfest sometimes charged with "elitism" and "obscure."

Oddly, another potential American hit had trouble getting off the ground, and many observers can't figure out why. *Smile*, a bittersweet comedy about a small-time beauty contest, contains many of the cleverest twists and most biting laughs I've found all year. Yet its slow box-office results in various "test markets" have evidently prompted United Artists to give it a minimum of advertising support; and it reportedly sold sluggishly even at the festival, whose thick-skinned patrons would presumably not be offended by the occasional dubious taste of this half-comic look at certain of America's less praiseworthy habits.

Filmmaker Michael Ritchie (the directed Robert Redford in "The Candidate" and "Downhill Racer") theorizes that people won't come to a movie about beauty contests, "because they can see beauty contests free on television. Perhaps he's right. But his notable and entertaining film is being regrettably slighted.

The other American entries were less significant. *Milestones*, by Robert Kramer and John Douglas, promised a look at a fascinating topic — what has happened to the militant youth of the 1960s, and what are they doing today? What it offered was 3½ hours of dull, predictable ex-hippies mouthing unimaginative dialogue. Grey Gardens visited the decayed Long Island home of Jacqueline Kennedy

Onassis's aunt and cousin, the Beales. The Beales in person may well be witty, charming, and brightly unconventional people. But the film's condescending approach brought out none of these qualities, unhappily for its subjects and its audience. Documentarians David Mayes and Albert Mayes directed, along with Ellen Hyde and Muffie Meyer.

Four distinctly varied West German films brought art and controversy to the festival. Best of all was *The Lost Honor of Katharina Blum*, taken by Volker Schlöndorff and Margaretha von Trotta from the novel by Nobel Prize-winner Heinrich Böll. A sure bet for commercial success, it tells of a woman brought low by two vendettas directed at her — a well-intentioned one by the police, and a malicious one by a cheap tabloid newspaper. The story is suspenseful; the look of the film is sharp and handsome.

Werner Herzog's original and compelling *Every Man for Himself and God Against All* tells the true but incredible 19th-century story of Kaspar Hauser, raised in darkness and solitude, then suddenly thrust into the life of a small provincial town. Herzog deals movingly with Kaspar's own unique responses, and with the town's clumsy attempts to deal with him.

Also from West Germany, Jean-Marie Straub and Daniele Huillet brought an austere — almost motionless — motion picture based on Schoenberg's opera *Moses and Aaron*. As always with rigorous Straub, viewers were either fascinated or infuriated or a little of both. This critic finds much to admire in Straub's highly abstract work, while acknowledging the difficulty of easing into his leisurely time sense (which is alleviated by music in the present film). Finally, *Flirt-Right of Freedom* proved a drably prosaic

look at the pains of homosexuality, from the prolific and audacious director Rainer Werner Fassbinder.

France's festival triumph was Francois Truffaut's *The Story of Adele H.*, the true account of an obsessive and one-sided love affair involving Victor Hugo's daughter. It is a tasteful and moving film, tinged with tears and romance — and graced with a fabulous performance by young Isabelle Adjani, whose name will be a household word before you know it.

Two more distinguished French filmmakers brought experiments in imagery to the festival. Louis Malle's *Black Moon* began powerfully but lapsed into self-indulgence as its dream-pictures lost their electric immediacy. Marguerite Duras's *India Song* taxed one's patience but rewarded one's eyes and ears with its slow unfolding of a sed love story, the characters drifting mutely about while off-screen voices droned minimal dialogue.

Also from France came Andre Techine's French Provincial, with Jeanne Moreau, a visually gorgeous but erratic look at a family's rise from little old drudgers to bourgeois power. Jean-Francois Davy's *Exhibition* provided the festival's first hard-core pornography footage, but offered little else despite its pretense of seriously exploring a sex-star's personality. The filmfest's one retrospective was also French, a screening of Jean Renoir's superb *La Chienne* from 1931, starring Michel Simon.

Claude Goretta's pleasant domestic comedy-drama *Not So Bad As All That* reminded festgoers of the continuing emergence of Swiss cinema. Osmere Sembane's *Xala* called attention once more to African film, with its funny yet disconcerting Senegalese tale of love and corruption in government. Companero



Scene from 'Hearts of the West': hot property for MGM

seemed humanly moving but cinematically simplistic with its factual account of the life and death of a Chilean folk singer and activist (an Anglo-Chilean coproduction directed by Martin Smith). Its coteature from Britain, *Autobiography of a Princess*, was another of James Ivory's slow-paced but revealing glances at India's culture.

Then there were the festival's Out-and-out failures. From Hungary came *Electra* filmed in Miklos Jancso's usual fluid style. A ritualized rendition of the Greek "Elektra" myth, it borrowed more from Euripides's conscience-stricken version than from Sophocles's calmer one, but its real purpose was a call to social revolution. An academic and boring exercise, it made bad advertising for activism.

Conversation Piece, by Italy's gifted Luchino Visconti, opened the festival on a note of unrelieved disaster. Handsomely and carefully filmed, with Burt Lancaster heading an international

cast, it sunk nonetheless in its own silly story and hokey moralizing. Near the end Lancaster faced the camera and intoned, "I never dreamed that things would turn out this badly," or words to that effect. The first-night audience roared with rueful mirth.

Meanwhile, on the positive side, there was a new full-length film from the legendary Orson Welles. Called *F for Fake*, and produced in France, it is a showy and dazzling movie-essay on truth and illusion — in film, in art, and in life. Featuring such personalities as Clifford Irving, Joseph Cotton, and the imposing Welles himself, it seemed a highly personal work of art. Yet its nonfiction musings were a far cry from

the brilliant storytelling that Welles is so ingenious at. Alternately hilarious, provocative, and exhausting, it made a challenging festival entry. Whether its appeal carries over to the neighborhood level remains to be seen.

The festival also provided a long list of shorts (of varying quality), a rather unimpaired advertising poster, and a show of in-person stars and filmmakers. In sum, the movies themselves ranged from marvellous to plain awful. But the air of festival-going excitement seemed strong from opening night to closing. Now let's see which (if any) of the extravaganza's treats become the smash of the year around the corner, as well as at Lincoln Center.

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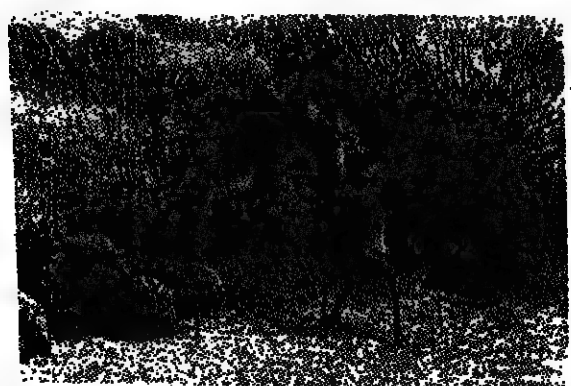
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arts/books

'Otherwise Engaged'

By Christopher Andrew

London
"What sort of a man... do you think... I am?" Simon, the central character of "Otherwise Engaged" at the Queens Theatre exasperatedly asks his friend Jeff. The question is most apt.

Simon's wife gives him her own answer. He's the sort of man who preserves his own sanity while everyone round him is going mad. Precisely how justified that too-neat summary is — and to what extent his impassivity, reasonableness, self-image of imperturbable honesty, and plain wish to be left in peace are a sufficient response to the self-tortures of all the other characters — might be taken as the play's theme.

The situation would suit the lightest farce: Simon wants badly to listen to a new Wagner record; he is prevented, however, for the whole course of the play by intrusion after intrusion. But what Simon Gray has written (he is the author of "Butley," and also of two recently critically successful plays on BBC television) is not light farce. It is heavy comedy.

How heavy, might be indicated by the steady escalation of outrageousness. How comic, by the deflationary quick wit with which Simon tries to rid himself of his visitors; by his superhuman indifference, disguised by an unconvincing politeness; but more than anything by his unwillingness to arrive at conclusions, amounting to a kind of numbness.

Alan Bates stars in "Otherwise Engaged."

as he did in "Butley" (the film of which has still not been released) and in Gray's two television plays. Harold Pinter has directed it (with the accuracy of someone who has made a meticulous study of nightmares). The supporting cast is admirable. The play is having a highly successful run.

What it challenges, with considerable openness, are basic assumptions of decency; decency of a particularly English sort, meaning niceness, a reluctance to shock or hurt, and a strong, not to say heartfelt, reticence.

Bates plays Simon as a sympathetic character. In fact it might be argued that Bates makes the character more attractive than the writing suggests, and yet your identification with him is crucial: leaving you with questions about yourself. How sympathetic can you afford to be towards the doubts and desires of others? How much of your own peace of mind is it right, or possible, to preserve in the face of others' anxiety (or worse)? Is outward dumbness the way to hold on to an inward numbness? "If I can keep my head while all about me are losing theirs..." Simon keeps his head (just, and with the assistance of Wagner); but he does so by freezing his heart — or does he?

The catch is that decisive assumptions about what sort of a man Simon is, are blocked at every turn — his coolness is not absolute.

Each character projects their own assessment of Simon, and reacts to him accordingly, and the audience charts — or guesses at — the justice or injustice of their reaction. The result is a stirring play.



Alan Bates, star of "Otherwise Engaged," as he appears in "Butley"

Top marks for mystery writers Agatha Christie and Rex Stout

Curtain, by Agatha Christie.
New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 238 pp. \$7.95. London: Collins. 2.95.
A Family Affair, by Rex Stout.
New York: The Viking Press. 153 pp. \$5.95.

By Joseph G. Harrison

The best mystery writers rightly eschew coincidence, deeming it unfair to the reader and belittling to their

own craft. Yet events will do to these writers what they themselves will not permit. And not often has coincidence come down with heavier tread or more astonishing result than in these two books — by, respectively, England's and America's greatest writers of mystery.

Within five weeks of each other there appear these two true masterpieces of the genre, each with an almost

identical theme: the commission of a crime by... But, no, there must be no hint of the answer, for this would be brutally unfair to those fortunate readers who have yet to pick up these books.

To compound the strangeness of this coincidence, while Rex Stout's latest tale of Nero Wolfe is but just written, Dame Agatha's final account of the great Hercule Poirot was finished in the mid-1940's, with the expectation it would be published posthumously, but with her being finally persuaded to issue it now (resulting in a slight mystery for mystery-story historians of the future, since, in the years which have intervened since this story of Poirot's death,

the incomparable Belgian has appeared in many further books).

At this late date what remains to be said in further praise of either Dame Agatha or Rex Stout, or of Poirot or Wolfe? Each of these stories finds its author in the full flow of imagination, ingenuity, skill or portrayal, and smoothness of execution. Each is lavishly garnished with those little idiosyncrasies of writer and character which have for decades added so much to the pleasure of reading these tales. Each has pulled off this extremely tricky maneuver of bringing crime close to home with persuasion and smoothness. And each has gone a wide step beyond any taken

before — a step which introduces a new sentiment in the reader's thought, a sentiment continuing, for the first time, a feeling of disquiet and loss.

It is a phenomenon of our times that many a mystery or detective book character is among the best known individuals in the world's consciousness. What actual lawyer is as widely known as Perry Mason? For everyone knowing the name of the King of the Belgians, scores know Hercule Poirot. Tito is doubtless the most important living Yugoslavian, but how many more could not better identify that former Montenegrin, Nero Wolfe? And who is more truly alive in popular thought than Sher-

lock Holmes? Nor is it any mystery, in reading such books as these, why this should be so.

Unburdened by violence for violence's sake, free from the childish drug of obscenity and pornography, respectful of the reader's intellect, "Curtain" and "A Family Affair" are exciting while challenging, swift while thorough, and logical while mystifying. And, notwithstanding the different aura surrounding each, the main personages remain surprisingly alike. Both Poirot and Wolfe are characterized by towering but persuasive modesty, each is fastidious to the point of caricature, each is devoted to chairbound ratiocination.

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Jobs for Turks grow scarce at home and abroad

By Ralph Shaffer
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The shoe shiners along this ancient city's Istiklal Street grimace and toss their heads when asked, "How's business?" Their silent reply means things are only so-so.

They are feeling but one effect of a double burden that the Turkish economy now bears:

- Rising unemployment caused by a reduction of foreign jobs for Turkish workers employed in other countries. The general European recession has pushed them back home.
- The external demand for Turkish products has dropped, shoving the nation's trade balance into deficit.

Earnings from Turkish foreign workers were until recently monetary reserves to help form an impressive yearly budgetary surplus.

Not so today. For the period January through May this year, Turkish workers sent abroad by the Government Employment Agency were 10,000 fewer than in the com-

parable period in 1974, continuing a decided downtrend from 1973.

Fewer Turks sent to jobs outside the country coupled with more returning workers has meant a reduction in worker remittances (January-May, 1975) of some \$23 million. On top of this growing financial depletion, there has been an increase in the domestic unemployment rate to about 12 percent.

Turkey's third five-year plan, 1973-77 has remedial sections to buffer economic setbacks.

Since the 1930s, Turkey has been striving to industrialize. Now, to bolster this long range goal, government planners have laid heavy emphasis on the dispersal of industry away from big cities. Not only have hinterland surveys been inaugurated to evaluate water use and electric power potential, but cheap land areas have been widely identified.

Powerful incentives have been dangled before industry such as substantial income-tax and import-duty credits. These are resulting in big, new investments.

Cerkezoy, a town of some 7,000 people two hours drive from Istanbul, is set in marginal farm-and-sheep land. But its

rolling hills were found to be vast enough for new factories—plants that will offer local employment where little or none existed and in the long term bring prosperity to small-town Turkey. And perhaps even draw sections of the big city labor force to the countryside.

Cerkezoy's newest ultramodern plant will start producing cotton yarn and cloth this November. "The hard part is behind us," says its English-speaking general manager. "With government incentives and planning help we were able to expand operations away from Istanbul with all-new buildings and equipment. At first we worried about many things—transportation, new workers, enough water and so on. But all these things have worked out well for us."

Turkey's 1975 trade deficit may reach \$2 billion.

The big Turkish target for expansion is the EEC, Europe's nine-country common market, which already takes a sizable slice of its exports. Turkey is an EEC associate and aims for full membership about 1985. Already most of its manufactured exports and agriculture products are free from EEC duties.

The Swedish answer to assembly line boredom

By David T. Cook
Business and financial correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Soderstam, Sweden
While American auto workers are increasingly critical of monotonous assembly lines, a group of U.S. car builders were far from sold on a Swedish auto assembly alternative they recently sampled.

A half-dozen car assemblers from Detroit spent a month working in the Saab-Scania engine manufacturing plant here in this Stockholm suburb under a program sponsored by the Ford Foundation and Cornell University.

The plant, which has been in operation for four years, is organized around final engine assembly by small teams of workers rather than a straight production line.

If the converted bus factory had been designed as a conventional assembly line, each worker would have had about 1.8 minutes to complete his small task in the production of each engine, Saab officials say.

But basing the plant on final engine assembly by three-member teams gives each laborer a more complex and potentially interesting task. He can spend from 10 to 30 minutes on it. (The exact amount of time spent on each operation depends on whether the group decides to have each member build a complete engine or whether the members work cooperatively on each unit.)

An effort also was made to rotate and lengthen the time needed for tasks assigned to laborers who work on engines prior to their final assembly.

Saab spokesmen say the attempt to give workers more variety and responsibility and thus boost productivity over normal industry levels has been successful. Informal worker surveys indicate engine assemblers like the Saab system "very much," says company spokesman Hakan Wren. No formal study of worker attitudes has been made, Mr. Wren adds.

However, a majority of the final assemblers are Swedish women who have not worked on a conventional assembly line so they have no basis for comparison, Mr. Wren admits.

The visiting American auto assemblers—who did have a basis for comparison—liked some elements of the Saab system but not others, according to a report on the visit appearing in Monthly Labor Review, a U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics publication.

The American observers reported that working conditions in the Saab plant—including noise levels, lighting levels, and air quality—were better than at their place of work in Detroit.

The visitors also liked the practice of rotating preassembly tasks which in the Saab plant move in a roughly counterclockwise pattern.

But the U.S. auto assemblers had a largely negative reaction to the most innovative aspect of the engine plant in which small, predominately female groups of workers build engines in one of six final assembly bays, according to the report written by project coordinator Arthur S. Weinberg.

The U.S. auto workers felt that the need to master complex assembly tasks and the group responsibility to maintain production pace "imposed psychological pressures which outweighed benefits of variety on work tasks," the project report notes.

One of the American observers felt the Saab approach was better than prevailing Detroit assembly techniques. Two other U.S. auto men liked the Saab approach but questioned whether it would remain interesting over the long run and noted that U.S. assembly techniques provide freedom for workers' minds to wander due to the repetitive nature of their tasks.

The remaining three American observers had serious reservations about the need to concentrate and maintain production pace imposed by the Saab assembly methods.

Saab spokesman Wren says that plant records show "no bigger number of mental problems" among assembly workers than found in conventional assembly plants.

Contrary to the American visitors' doubts, workers' morale has not deteriorated as the novelty of Saab assembly methods wore off, says spokesman Ake Kjerrman. Productivity has climbed rather than declined, he says, although no precise supporting figures are made public.

While other Swedish manufacturers have accepted and expanded on the Saab auto assembly innovations, the new methods do entail some initial costs higher than those associated with conventional methods.

Because workers perform a greater variety of tasks, firms using group assembly methods require more floor space and have to purchase a larger number of tools and supplies.

These higher inventory, equipment, and floor space costs are more than compensated for by higher employee productivity and lower worker turnover and absenteeism, Saab spokesmen contend.

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How fossils misled the experts

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Over the past decade, scientists have convinced themselves that earthly life is far older than they once believed. A trail of fossil algae and bacteria leads back nearly three and a half million years.

But the evidence is hard to find and tricky to read. Now the scientist who has shed one of the strongest lights into the distant past warns that he and others have been misled by

the shadows. What is considered a billion-year-old evolutionary landmark, the oldest fossil ancestor of the higher plants and animals, turns out to be an artifact of misinterpretation.

It is an example of how experts stumble because even they can't keep up with all the new knowledge in their field.

The scientist is Elso S. Barghoorn of Harvard University. During the 1950s and early '60s, he and Stanley A. Tyler of the University of Wisconsin showed that primitive algae and bacteria existed billions of years ago.

Their summary paper in 1965 ended the era when evolution was thought too slow to have produced such organisms that early.

In 1968, Dr. Barghoorn and J. William Schopf, then a graduate student, also reported the now questionable fossils, found in Australia's Bitter Springs formation.

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Scientists recognize two basic organic life-styles. The more primitive forms, now a minority, are cells with diffuse content. The more advanced forms use cells which are complex chemical systems with discrete centers of action and a tightly organized central nucleus. This nucleus contains most of the genetic material through which evolution operates.

Only nucleated cells could evolve sexual reproduction and the diversity of higher organisms to which it has led. These latter first appear in the fossil record during the Cambrian period, which began some 550 million years ago. They appear as suddenly as though they had dropped in from outer space. Scientists thought they had at last found ancestors in fossil nucleated cells of the Bitter Springs and some older formations.

But Dr. Barghoorn became suspicious when similar fossils showed up in deposits two billion years old. That was too old even for him. As he and his colleague Andrew H. Knoll report in the journal Science, laboratory tests show that all such fossils are likely to be remains of the primitive algae with diffuse cells. These decay in a way that makes the cells appear to have nuclei, which is what has fooled paleobotanists. So while fossil microbes still lead billions of years into the past, scientists must look anew for signs of the first nucleated cells.

"Ten years ago, we just didn't know what the differences between the two types of cell really are," Dr. Barghoorn explains. "Scientists knew, but the rest of us had not yet absorbed the knowledge. So I fell into what seemed a logical interpretation at the time."

That interpretation, which itself once seemed heretical, now has gotten into the textbooks.

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'Fabulous Demels'

Where Emperor Franz Jozef stopped off for his strudel

By Peter Tonge
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Vienna
The most famous pastry shop in all of Austria is sited on a narrow cobbled street within the shadow of the Imperial Palace here.

It's called Demels, and it's a must for any visitor who loves the atmosphere of yesterday as well as the cakes, ice cream, chocolate, and other confectionery delights that are available. But for me, it stands out as the place where I first got the nontourist view of Austria and learned something of how pleasant it is to be Austrian in these modern times.

In my book such knowledge is what travel to a foreign country is all about.

Just before I left New York I learned about the "fabulous Demels." You can tour the palace, visit museums, admire the spires of Gothic churches, listen to Johann Strauss waltzes in Stadtpark, even sail up the Danube. But "you won't really get to know Vienna," my informant suggested, "unless you visit Demels."

So I hailed a flaker as they call horse-drawn cabs here and clip-clopped my way pleasantly along Ringstrasse, where the old city walls once stood, to No. 14 Kohlmarkt (charcoal-market street). There the onetime confectioner to the royal court has been situated since before Emperor Franz Jozef I made it a practice of stopping by for strudel a century and more ago.

Demels's decor is 19th-century and that's the way it's going to stay, I was told.

Over a bowl of exquisite but expensive ice cream (it costs just over \$1) I got to talking with a young couple at the next table. They

came to Demels "occasionally," they said and, yes, they did think they were fairly typical of all young Austrians. They loved music, the theater, dancing, and dining out when they could afford it. They had been married a little more than a year, and life felt good. Who wouldn't feel that way in Vienna, they wanted to know.

Indeed that is what Vienna is all about.

The city still looks and has the atmosphere of the imperial capital it once was. Music is everywhere—in the parks, in the theaters, and in almost every little restaurant. There is the opera; there are motor racing, track and field events, tennis, and water sports on the Danube; in winter there are soccer and skiing not too far away in the mountains and hills surrounding the city.

What makes Austria so pleasant—besides its beauty, the attractive, clean cities, and the sense of history that is everywhere (Vienna's Roman origins still are visible)—is the moderately high standard of living. There are no slums to speak of, no blighted areas, and the streets even in the large cities are safe.

After an evening at the theater in Vienna, a group of us walked—sauntered would be the better word—back to our hotel some two miles away. The streets were filled with Viennese taking in the pleasant night air. It was the same in other cities, too.

There is little evidence of great individual wealth here, but no Austrian goes hungry either. Currently for every unemployed person there are two job vacancies—one reason for the presence of 200,000 foreign workers in this land of 7½ million.

Austria, then, has turned around since the depressed years that spanned the collapse of

Escape to Australian summer

By Leavitt F. Morris
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Want to by-pass winter quickly? With just one big "jet hop" you can leap over the rigors of winter right into the "good old summer time" in Australia or New Zealand.

These two countries, located on the other side of the equator, are just about ready to usher in their summer season.

Because of the great distance to Australia and New Zealand it is a wise traveler who plans to spend at least a month—perhaps divided equally between each country—visiting their many attractions.

New Zealand's South Island is an area richly blessed with the greatest variety of alpine scenes anywhere in the world: a series of fjords equal to those of Norway, and lakes as blue as those in Italy.

Snow-mantled Mt. Cook rises 12,340 feet, seeming to touch the sky. The Maoris called the mountain Aorangi meaning, in their language, the cloud-peak. Rising beside Cook are the ermine-draped shoulders of Mt. Tasman, 11,476 feet. Mt. Sefton, Douglas peak, and Mt. Elie de Beaumont, all more than 10,000 feet.

The Mt. Cook & Southern Lakes Tourist Company operates "flight-seeing" tours around the mountains on planes equipped with seats which are lowered beneath the wheels for a landing on the Tasman Glacier, a huge river of ice flowing beneath the crown of Mt. Cook. The plane flies over and around and between the rugged New Zealand southern alps—some of the world's most magnificent mountain scenery rolled up in some 400 square miles.

Principal city on New Zealand's South Island is Christchurch, a city of flowers and poetic beauty, a warm friendliness and simple sweetness.

Australia, a continent in itself, is an area so large and so sparsely populated in its "outback" areas that the visitor is reminded of America's early pioneer days.

From Alice Springs one of the most adventurous trips in the country can be made to Ayers Rock, the largest monolith in the world, rising from the desert floor to more than 1,000 feet. It is eight miles around. As you approach it from the air, it looks like an elephant kneeling on the ground.

Another adventure-packed trip is to the Great Barrier Reef. Australians are proud of the reef and boast of its primitive beauty amidst an ocean full of tropical fish as multicolored as the rainbow.

Outside of Melbourne about 40 miles is the Sir Colin MacKenzie Sanctuary, where an ornithorhynchus anatinus steals the show from the "lovable" koala. This, of course, is a duck-bill platypus. Found nowhere else in the world, this animal has four short legs with webbed feet, each with five retractable claws. The mouth is a broadly flattened beak, similar to that of a duck, and its body is covered with rich silky fur. The platypus swims swiftly and eats half its weight in mud worms a day. It lays eggs, hatches them, and then nurses its young with milk.

The koalas are, as advertised, soft and cuddly. And the kangaroos eat out of your hand—and will pinch food from your picnic basket if you aren't looking. It is a worthwhile trip from Melbourne to the Sanctuary where many species of Australia's wildlife may be seen.

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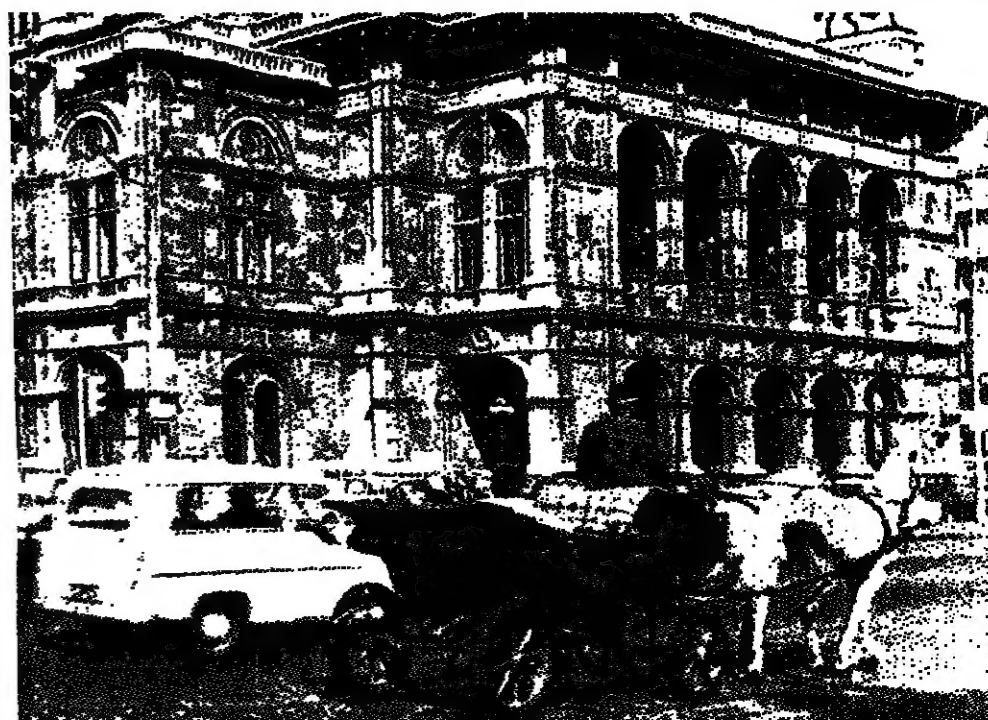
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Flakers are an elegant way to see Austria's capital

the empire (1918) and the end of the Soviet occupation in 1955.

Vineyards, orchards—apples, pears, plums, and peaches—corn, sugar beet, and potato fields covered much of the landscape I traveled through. So agriculture still is important.

But tourism—which last year earned Austria some \$2.3 billion in foreign exchange—and steel, aluminum, fertilizers, forest products, and hydroelectric-power generation now all rank ahead of the once-dominant farming industry.

With a thriving economy Austria found itself obliged to revalue its schilling (now worth roughly 6 U.S. cents) a few years back. So goods appear somewhat more expensive here than in the United States, but services are generally lower. Haircuts back on New

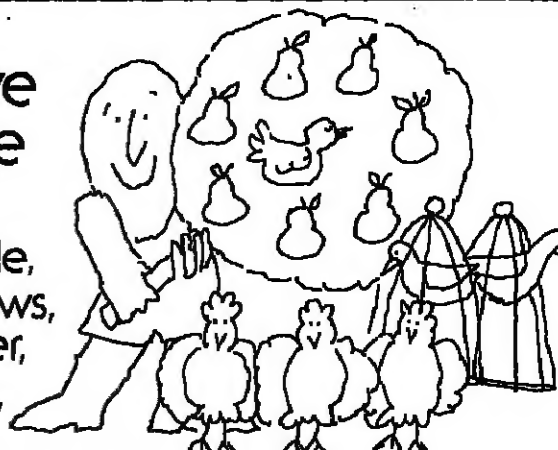
York's Fifth Avenue, for instance, cost a whole lot more than they do along the Ringstrasse.

Good hotels are relatively inexpensive. The exclusive Clubhotel in Baden costs between \$38 and \$48 a day for a couple; a single room, \$23 to \$30 a day. Prices go down in the off-season. In contrast, a room with breakfast in a private guest house can run as little as \$4 a night.

I found restaurants a little on the high side here in Vienna. Yet the young couple I talked with ate out regularly every other week. Their secret: They avoid the restaurants the tourists patronize. "Walk down the side streets to find where the Viennese go," they advised.

And true enough, a little foot-slogging brought me to an unpretentious but spotless place where prices ranged from roughly \$1 to \$4 for a substantial meal.

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Les communistes italiens contre la férule de Moscou

par David Willey
écrit spécialement pour
The Christian Science Monitor

Rome
Le parti communiste italien s'est rendu vulnérable en rejetant le droit de l'Union soviétique de dicter la façon de rechercher le pouvoir.

Le parti communiste le plus important de l'Occident a également fait une déclaration sans précédent aux termes de laquelle il est prêt à s'abstenir au cours du prochain vote de confiance parlementaire ou gouvernement de coalition d'Aldo Moro. Les communistes italiens insistent sur le fait qu'ils ne veulent pas faire tomber le gouvernement actuel et qu'ils désirent s'allier aux chrétiens démocrates qui ont dirigé l'Italie depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, et non les évincer.

Les déclarations de la politique communiste revêtent une importance de plus en plus grande à la lumière de l'avance électorale considérable du parti en juin dernier lorsque celui-ci gagna un tiers de tous les votes dans les élec-

tions locales. Depuis lors, les sondages donnent à penser que les communistes continuent à gagner du terrain.

Enrico Berlinguer, leader du parti communiste, s'est manifesté comme le politicien italien le plus populaire du pays, au cours d'un récent sondage indépendant de l'opinion publique.

Les kreninologues occidentaux ont examiné une série d'articles récemment parus dans la presse soviétique qui, de toute évidence, s'en prennent aux communistes italiens. Le plus important, écrit par Konstantin Zarodov, a paru dans le numéro du 6 août de la Pravda. M. Zarodov, un des experts soviétiques les plus qualifiés en fait de communisme international, a critiqué ces partis communistes qui, dit-il, ont tendance à se joindre à de vastes alliances politiques, à transiger sur le principe de l'hégémonie de la classe ouvrière et à ignorer la maxime révolutionnaire qui dit qu'une majorité « n'est pas un concept arithmétique, mais politique ».

Le sceau officiel d'approbation a été apposé à cette déclaration soviétique

lorsque, en septembre, le leader communiste Leonid I. Brejnev a reçu M. Zarodov au Kremlin.

M. Berlinguer répondit sans équivoque par le truchement du journal communiste italien *Unità* : « Revendiquer le droit de dicter des règles générales rigides est sans fondement, non seulement parce que le dogme monolithique est depuis longtemps désuet en ce qui concerne les relations entre les partis communistes, mais encore parce qu'il serait absurde de ne pas prendre en considération, sur le plan théorique, les situations et problèmes variés de notre temps. »

« Nous comprenons la relation entre la démocratie et le socialisme d'une façon tout différente de celle décrite dans le schéma doctrinaire de Zarodov », a-t-il ajouté.

Les Italiens préparent la ligne de conduite qu'ils ont l'intention d'adopter à la conférence des partis communistes européens qui doit se tenir à Berlin-Est fin décembre ou début janvier. La portée de cette réunion est rehaussée par la tournure des événements d'Espagne.

Le leader du parti communiste espagnol en exil, Santiago Carrillo, voit les choses du même oeil que les Italiens.

Les Soviétiques s'inquiètent au sujet des « Eurocommunistes » qui ne se mettent pas au pas et menacent les nouvelles relations existant entre les Etats-Unis et l'Union soviétique. Les observateurs politiques italiens font remarquer que les Russes pourraient se montrer tout aussi hostiles que les Etats-Unis à l'idée que les communistes italiens puissent arriver au pouvoir par des moyens démocratiques et bouleverser la balance européenne du pouvoir.

Bien des Italiens moyens se préoccupent encore de l'importance de l'indépendance réelle vis-à-vis de Moscou dont les communistes font ici preuve.

Ce n'est pas la première fois que les communistes italiens ont lancé un défi au Kremlin : Ils ont ouvertement critiqué l'invasion de la Tchécoslovaquie et M. Berlinguer lui-même, en 1972, a osé se lever à Moscou et déclarer : « Chaque nation doit trouver sa propre voie [menant au communisme]. »

Italiens indépendants des communistes

Von David Willey
Speziell für den
Christian Science Monitor
geschrieben

Rome
Die italienische Kommunistische Partei hat einen gewagten Schritt getan, als sie der Sowjetunion das Recht verweigerte, ihr vorzuschreiben, was sie unternehmen soll, um mehr Macht zu gewinnen.

Die größte kommunistische Partei des Westens hat die bisher einmalige Erklärung abgegeben, daß sie bereit sei, sich bei dem bevorstehenden Vertrauensvotum in Bezug auf die Koalitionsregierung Aldo Moro der Stimme zu enthalten. Die italienischen Kommunisten betont nachdrücklich, daß sie die bestehende Regierung nicht stürzen, sondern sich den Christdemokraten anschließen möchten, die seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in Italien die Zügel in der Hand haben.

Die Erklärungen der Kommunisten in Bezug auf ihre politische Linie gewinnen an Bedeutung, wenn man in Betracht zieht, daß die Partei im vergangenen Juni einen beachtlichen Stimmenzuwachs bei den Kommunalwahlen zu ver-

zeichnen hatte, als ein Drittel der gesamten Wahlstimmen auf sie fielen. Die inzwischen vorgenommenen Meinungsumfragen lassen darauf schließen, daß die Kommunisten weiterhin an Boden gewinnen.

Enrico Berlinguer, der Chef der Kommunistischen Partei, ist kürzlich bei einer unabhängigen Meinungsumfrage als der beliebteste Politiker Italiens hervorgegangen.

Westliche Krenlexperten haben eine Reihe von Artikeln untersucht, die in letzter Zeit in der sowjetischen Presse erschienen sind und eindeutig gegen die Kommunisten in Italien gerichtet waren. Der bedeutendste davon war der von Konstantin Zarodov, am 6. August in der Pravda veröffentlicht. Zarodov, einer der wichtigsten sowjetischen Experten auf dem Gebiet des internationalen Kommunismus, kritisierte jene kommunistischen Parteien, die, wie er sagte, dazu neigten, eine politische Koalition auf breiter Basis einzugehen, in Bezug auf das Prinzip der Hegemonie der Arbeiterklasse Zugeständnisse zu machen und die revolutionäre Maxime außer acht zu lassen, daß eine Mehrheit „nicht ein rechnerischer, sondern ein politischer Begriff“ ist.

Diese sowjetische Erklärung wurde offiziell gutgeheißen, als Leonid Brejnev, der Chef der Kommunistischen Partei, im September Zarodov im Kreml empfing.

Enrico Berlinguer erwiderte unmißverständlich durch die Spalten der italienischen Parteizeitung *Unità*: „Der Anspruch auf das Recht, starre allgemeine Regeln niederzulegen, ist unbegründet, nicht nur, weil das unerschütterliche Dogma schon seit einiger Zeit in den Beziehungen zwischen den kommunistischen Parteien überholt ist, sondern auch, weil es absurd wäre, die Vielzahl der Situationen und Probleme unserer heutigen Zeit nicht theoretisch in Betracht zu ziehen.“

Wir verstehen die Beziehung zwischen Demokratie und Sozialismus ganz anders, als sie in Zarodows doktrinärem Schema dargelegt ist“, fügte er hinzu.

Die Italiener legen sich nun auf die Linie fest, die sie auf der Konferenz der europäischen kommunistischen Parteien vertreten werden, die Ende Dezember oder Anfang Januar in Ost-Berlin stattfinden soll. Durch die Ereignisse in Spanien hat diese Konferenz an Bedeutung gewonnen.

Der im Exil lebende Führer der spanischen Kommunistischen Partei, Santiago Carrillo, stimmt mit den Italienern völlig überein.

Die Sowjets machen sich Sorgen um die „Eurokommunisten“, die ihnen nicht auf den Fersen folgen und die neuen Beziehungen zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und der Sowjetunion gefährden. Italienische politische Beobachter weisen darauf hin, daß die Russen wie die Vereinigten Staaten, wenn die italienischen Kommunisten durch demokratische Mittel zur Macht kämen und das europäische Gleichgewicht der Kräfte gefährdeten.

Viele Durchschnittsitaliener machen sich noch immer Gedanken darüber, wie sehr die Kommunisten hier wirklich unabhängig von Moskau sind.

Dies ist nicht das erste Mal, daß die italienischen Kommunisten den Kreml herausgefordert haben — sie kritisierten öffentlich die Besetzung der Tschetschenoslawei, und 1972 wagte es Enrico Berlinguer, in Moskau öffentlich zu erklären: „Jedes Volk muß seinen eigenen Weg [zum Kommunismus] finden.“

Italy's communists refuse Moscow's rule

By David Willey
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Rome
The Italian Communist Party has gone out on a limb in rejecting the right of the Soviet Union to dictate how to seek power.

The largest communist party in the West also has made an unprecedented announcement that it is prepared to abstain during a coming parliamentary vote of confidence in the coalition government of Aldo Moro. The Italian Communists insist they do not want to bring the existing government down and that they want to join the Christian Democrats, who have been running Italy since World War II, not out them.

Communist policy statements take on increasing importance in light of the party's considerable electoral advance last June when it got one-third of the total vote in local elections. Opinion polls since then suggest that

the Communists continue to gain ground.

Enrico Berlinguer, the Communist Party leader, emerged as Italy's most popular politician in a recent independent opinion survey.

Western Kremlinologists have been examining a series of recent articles in the Soviet press clearly directed against the Italian Communists. The most significant of these was by Konstantin Zarodov published in Pravda on Aug. 6. Mr. Zarodov, one of the most important Soviet experts in international communism, criticized those communist parties that, he said, were inclined to merge into wide political alliances, to compromise on the principle of the hegemony of the working class, and to ignore the revolutionary maxim that a majority "is not an arithmetical but a political concept."

The official stamp of approval was put on this Soviet statement when Communist Party

leader Leonid I. Brezhnev received Mr. Zarodov at the Kremlin in September.

Mr. Berlinguer replied unequivocally through the columns of the Italian party's newspaper, *Unità*: "The claim to dictate rigid general rules is unfounded, not only because monolithic dogma has been obsolete for some time in relations between communist parties, but also because it would be absurd not to take into account on the theoretic level the variety of contemporary situations and problems."

"The relationship between democracy and socialism is understood by us quite differently from its description in the doctrinaire scheme of Zarodov," he added.

The Italians are preparing the line they intend to follow at the conference of European communist parties planned for East Berlin at the end of December or beginning of January. The significance of this meeting is increased by the turn of events in Spain.

The leader of the Spanish Communist Party in exile, Santiago Carrillo, sees eye to eye with the Italians.

The Soviets are worried about "Eurocommunist" who fail to come to heel and threaten the new relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Russians, Italian political observers point out, may be just as hostile as the United States to the idea of the Italian Communists coming to power through democratic means and upsetting the European balance of power.

Many ordinary Italians are still concerned about the extent to which the Communists here are genuinely independent of Moscow.

This is not the first time the Italian Communists have challenged the Kremlin: they openly criticized the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and in 1972 Mr. Berlinguer himself dared to stand up in Moscow and declare, "Every people must find their own path [to communism]."

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]
Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
[Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine]

Comment voyons-nous ?

J'ai habité un jour une maison en bordure d'une rue triste et dont l'arrière donnait sur le chantier d'un entrepreneur. Mais des fenêtres à l'étage on jouissait d'une belle vue s'étendant par-dessus la ville jusqu'à de paisibles collines et de luxuriantes forêts de hêtres qui s'enflammaient en automne. La vue que j'avais dépendait de la fenêtre que je choisissais.

La Science Chrétienne*, en jetant une lumière sur les Ecritures, m'a appris que nous regardons tous la vie par les fenêtres de notre interprétation habituelle de l'univers de Dieu.

Aucun d'entre nous ne se trouve pris dans des circonstances matérielles absolument immuables. Et peu importe jusqu'à quel point cela semble être le cas, nous ne sommes pas non plus tombés au milieu de gens hostiles ou antagonistes de nature. Ce que nous voyons autour de nous est en grande partie fonction de la façon dont nous regardons. Vue matériellement, la vie est sujette à la discordance — dans certains cas, comme à la suite d'une guerre, elle peut être horrible, sans solution apparente immédiate. Mais lorsque nous apprenons à voir l'existence spirituellement, l'harmonie et même la beauté peuvent faire partie de notre existence.

L'entendement humain et les sens physiques voient l'univers matériellement. Quand bien même ces sens, dont on peut si facilement prouver le manque de stabilité, voient l'homme en tant que faillible et physique, la Bible nous dit que l'homme est fait à la ressemblance de Dieu parfait, l'Esprit, et que par conséquent il est spirituel et parfait.

Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « L'entendement mortel voit ce qu'il croit, aussi certainement qu'il croit ce qu'il voit. Il sent, entend et voit ses propres pensées. »

Quelles sont les pensées auxquelles nous devrions nous fier et sur lesquelles nous devrions modeler notre vie — celles de l'entendement humain trompeur ou celles de Dieu, l'Entendement qui ne se trompe jamais ?

Lorsque Christ Jésus dit : « Vous connaissez la vérité, et la vérité vous affranchira. » Il nous offre la libération totale des illusions du mal. Le Maître savait que lorsque la pensée a été débarrassée de la tromperie que représentent la matière et le mal, grâce à l'inspiration que nous donnons les vraies idées de Dieu accueillies dans un esprit d'humilité prière et d'étude, la discordance humaine est détruite progressivement.

C'est sur cette base que Jésus était à même de guérir les malades, les aveugles et les boiteux. Il réforma et régénéra hommes et femmes, nourrit les affamés et surmonta même la mort par sa résurrection. Il nous fournit la clé de tous ses actes puissants par le fait réconfortant qu'une compréhension de la vérité spirituelle — la seule réalité — libère des liens de la matière.

Nous sommes tentés de penser que nos difficultés sont des faits valables et que nous devons les combattre comme des réalités puissantes si nous entendons les vaincre. Mais Jésus regarda le monde avec une conscience plus élevée et plus spirituelle et il vit à la place de cela la réalité paisible de l'être spirituel parfait. La guérison était l'effet de sa compréhension. La matière et le mal en tant que menaces durent abandonner leurs prétentions pénibles.

Jésus ne reconnut jamais deux sortes de vie. Il n'y a qu'une sorte de vie et cette dernière est entièrement spirituelle, parce qu'elle reflète Dieu qui est Vie. Dans un article intitulé « La nouvelle naissance », Mrs. Eddy écrit :

« Voilà donc comment nous nous éveillons du rêve qu'il y a vie dans la matière et prenons conscience du grand fait que Dieu est la seule Vie et que, par conséquent, nous devons entretenir un concept plus élevé tant de Dieu que de l'homme. »

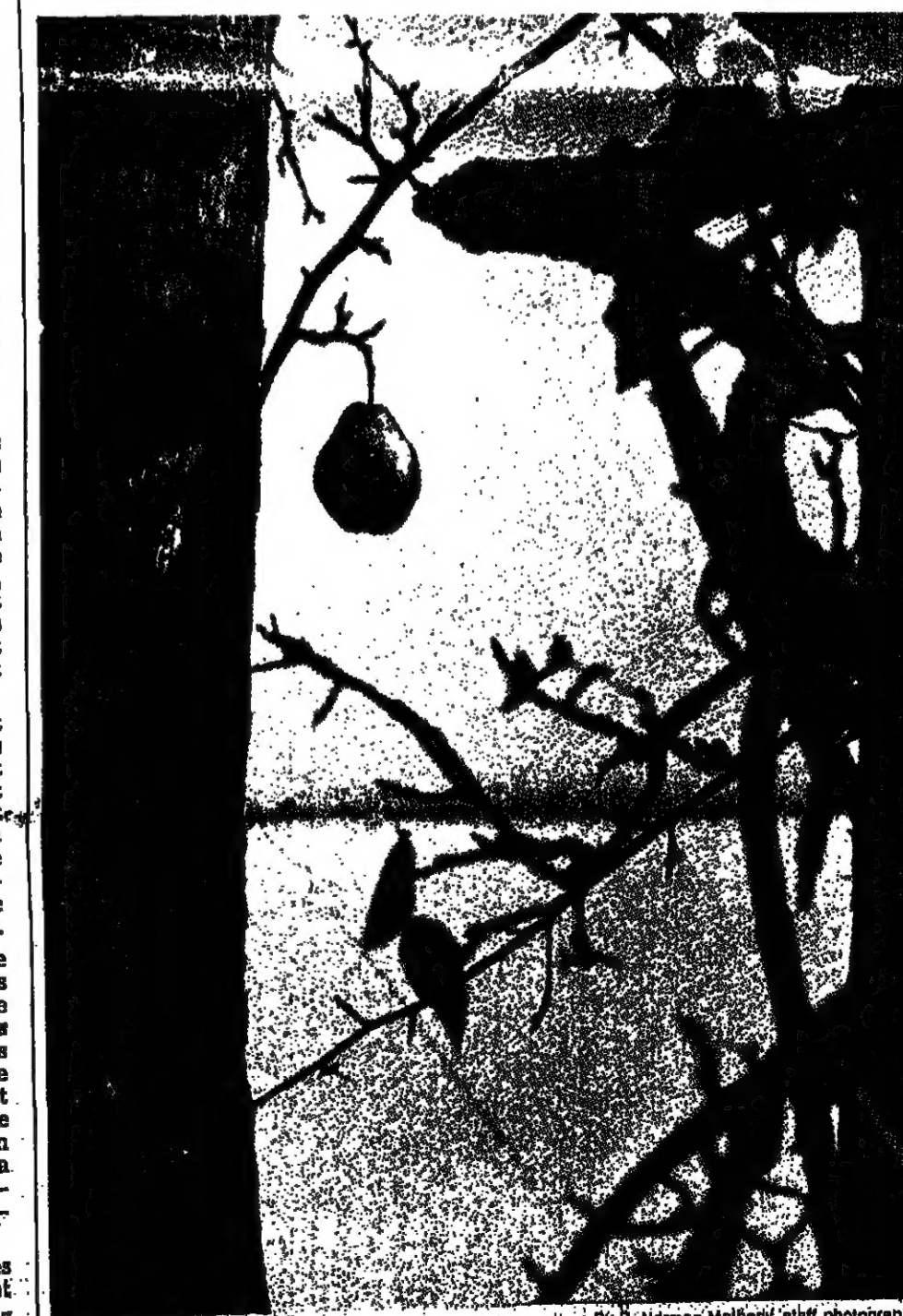
Si nous regardons autour de nous avec guère plus que la vue physique et le sens matériel, personnes et situations peuvent nous causer de la peine et nous frustrer. Mais si nous apprenons à voir quelque peu comme Jésus voyait — spirituellement, avec une compréhension que Dieu illumine — nous verrons alors comme des guérisseurs semblables au Christ.

Comprenant et aimant la création parfaite de Dieu, cela nous aide à nous guérir nous-mêmes, notre voisin et le monde même.

* Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures, p. 86; 2 Jean 8:32; * Miscellaneous Writings, p. 16.

* Christian Science prononce "kristienn" "saïence".
La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, "Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures" de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec le texte anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne ou le commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



A last pear lingers on as America's autumn ends

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]
Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
[Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich]

Was sehen wir?

Ich wohnte einmal in einem Haus, das an einer eintönigen Straße lag. Auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite befand sich der Lagerplatz eines Bauunternehmens. Aber aus den Fenstern im ersten Stock hatte man einen herrlichen Blick über die Stadt auf die friedlichen Hügel und die Buchenwälder, die in vielen Herbstfarben leuchteten. Was ich sah, hing davon ab, aus welchem Fenster ich hinausschaute.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft*, durch die uns die Heilige Schrift erleuchtet wird, hat mich gelehrt, daß wir alle das Leben durch die Fenster unserer zur Gewohnheit gewordenen Vorstellungen vom Universum Gottes betrachten.

Keiner von uns lebt in völlig unveränderlichen materiellen Verhältnissen. Und wir sind auch nicht unter von Natur aus böswilligen oder feindlichen Menschen ausgesetzt worden, wie sehr es auch danach aussehen mag. Was wir um uns her sehen, hängt in hohem Maße von unserer Betrachtungsweise ab. Von einem materiellen Standpunkt aus gesehen, kann das Leben unharmonisch sein — in manchen Fällen, wie nach einem Krieg, kann es schrecklich sein, ohne eine sofortige Lösung in Sicht. Wenn wir aber lernen, das Dasein geistig zu betrachten, können wir Harmonie, ja sogar Schönheit erleben.

Das menschliche Gemüt und die physischen Sinne sehen das Universum in materieller Weise. Wenn auch diese Sinne, denen so leicht ihre Unzulänglichkeit nachgewiesen werden

kann, den Menschen als fehlbar und körperlich sehen, sagt uns doch die Bibel, daß der Mensch zum Ebenbild des vollkommenen Gottes, des Geistes, geschaffen wurde und daher geistig und vollkommen ist.

Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, schreibt: „Das sterbliche Gemüt sieht, was es glaubt, ebensosehr, wie es glaubt, was es sieht. Es fühlt, hört und sieht seine eigenen Gedanken.“

Welchen Gedanken sollten wir vertrauen, nach welchen sollten wir uns richten — denen, die aus dem sich selbst betrügenden menschlichen Gemüt kommen, oder denen, die aus Gott sind, dem Gemüt, das niemals einen Fehler begeht?

Als Christus Jesus sagte: „[Ihr] werdet die Wahrheit erkennen, und die Wahrheit wird euch frei machen“, stellte er uns völlige Freiheit von bösen Illusionen in Aussicht. Der Meister wußte, daß die menschliche Disharmonie nach und nach zerstört wird, wenn die Täuschung, nämlich die Materie und das Böse, durch die Inspiration der wahren Ideen Gottes, die uns durch demütiges Gebet und Studium zuteil wird, aus dem Denken entfernt wird.

Auf dieser Grundlage konnte Jesus die Kranken, die Blinden und die Lahmen heilen. Männer und Frauen wurden durch ihn umgewandelt und erneuert; er speiste die Hungerigen und überwand sogar den Tod durch seine Auferstehung. Er gab uns den Schlüssel zu all seinen mächtigen Taten in der tröstenden Tatsache, daß ein Verständnis der geistigen Wahrheit — der einzigen Wirklichkeit — uns von den Fesseln der Materie befreit.

Wir neigen zu dem Glauben, daß unsere Schwierigkeiten feststehende Tatsachen seien, machtvolle Wirklichkeiten, mit denen wir uns auseinandersetzen müßten, wenn wir sie überwinden wollen. Jesus aber betrachtete die Welt von einem höheren, mehr geistigen Bewußtsein aus und sah statt dessen die ungetrübte Wirklichkeit des geistigen, vollkommenen Seins. Sein Wissen hatte zur Folge, daß er heilte. Da die Materie und das Böse Lügen sind, müßten sie ihre peinigenden Ansprüche aufgeben.

Jesus erkannte niemals zwei Arten des Daseins an. Es gibt nur eine Art des Daseins, die völlig geistig ist, weil sie Gott widerspiegelt, der Leben ist. In einem Artikel, betitelt „Die Wiedergeburt“, schreibt Mrs. Eddy: „Das also heißt aus dem Traum von Lügen in der Materie zu der großen Tatsache erwachen, daß Gott das einzige Leben ist; daß wir daher eine höhere Auffassung sowohl von Gott als auch vom Menschen hegen müssen.“

Wenn wir uns umschauen und uns dabei lediglich des physischen Sehvermögens und des materiellen Sinnes bedienen, können uns Personen und Situationen traurig stimmen und enttäuschen. Wenn wir aber lernen, geistig zu sehen, wie Jesus mit der geistigen Welt, mit einem von Gott erleuchteten Verständnis — dann sehen wir wie christliche Heiler.

Wenn wir Gottes vollkommene Schöpfung verstehen und lieben, tragen wir dazu bei, uns selbst, unseren Nächsten, ja sogar die ganze Welt zu heilen.

* Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, S. 86; 2 Johannes 8:32; * Vermischte Schriften, S. 16.

* Christian Science spricht: "kristienn" "saïence".
Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, "Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift" von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite drucklich. Das Buch kann in den Lesesalons der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Auskunft über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache erteilt auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



"Portrait of a Child" Early 19th century Naïve Painting (American): Oil on canvas, artist unknown
Courtesy of the Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey

The universal child

While each adult moves through his own very specific time-place culture, the child remains in a universal condition — childhood. Looking at this charming portrait, we do not think of the little girl in her apricot-yellow dress as a fragment of American art history. Instead, due to her lively presence, we half-expect her to break away from her pose to run up to us offering her bright field flowers for us to admire.

The painting is unsigned, the artist as unknown as his little subject. It is classed as an American Primitive. The word "primitive" was never a good choice applied to paintings like this. The word "naïve" which is sometimes used comes closer to being a better description. Like children, the primitive or naïve painters belong to no particular period in history, country or culture. The category, in this sense, includes those painters who have received no art school training and have little or no acquaintanceship with historic or contemporary modes of the art world. It is not to be

confused with the conscious imitations or derivations from primitive cultures like Picasso in his African period.

Even today there are naïve or primitive painters painting away somewhere, and there always will be. However, it is doubtful that primitive portraits like this lovely child are being painted anywhere today. In the first century of the American republic, portraits were very popular not only in the great cities where highly schooled and accomplished artists worked, but in town and rural areas where the need was supplied by untutored itinerant painters, some of them house decorators and sign painters. The coming of photography has provided a less expensive, more available form of portraiture. Primitives today are more apt to be found painting landscapes and nostalgic or visionary scenes.

Up until the 1920's these paintings were regarded as quaint and crude, hardly to be considered seriously as art. But the wider introduction of distortion and abstraction

into the mainstream of art removed the block which prevented appreciation of these honest and personal expressions. Famous artists began collecting them for their inspiration and this pointed out their true worth. William Zorach, the American sculptor, owned this exquisite painting. The Newark Museum was one of the first to put on a sizeable exhibition of American primitives in 1930. Later it acquired this *Unknown Child* to add to its fine and large collection of American paintings of all periods.

The vigorous simplicity of the modeling — which made it seem so unsophisticated when the achievement of visual plausibility was considered the acme of painting — makes the painting even more appealing to us today. The grave brown eyes, the careful rope-like curls, the lumpy white cotton stockings under the drooping lace-edged pantaloons, all contribute to a quiet, essential statement of childhood.

Margaret Taube

Please — no talking!

It was when Laurie, after a warning glance at his fellow tycoons in the railway carriage handed me a copy of the evening paper that I got the message: "NO TALKING." It made me feel lonely and unwanted until suddenly, with a chuckle, I remembered the story of Uncle Jaanie and the stranger. But more about that later.

"If you reach the station first," Laurie had said, "keep a place for us in the 'No Smoking' compartment in the coach next to the engine. I always take that one." I did, and so we were now speeding through the countryside, golden in the evening light, on our way to spend the weekend with Laurie's family, an hour's run from London. Around the carriage sat tycoons, briefcases beside them, bowler hats and rolled umbrellas ranged on the racks above their heads, their solidarity challenged only by the man sitting opposite to me who wore tweeds, had a deerstalker hat, and carried a butterfly net.

Silence reigned, broken only by the tummy-tee-tum, tummy-tee-tum of the wheels and the discreet rustle of paper as the tycoons turned to the financial pages of their news sheets. How startling then for everyone to come briskly to life as the train slowed down. Why, they all knew one another! "Tomorrow morning as usual? Ten o'clock on the first tee?" said one man, leaning toward his opposite number. Laurie's neighbor, with a charming smile at me, said to him, "If your friend is a guest for the weekend, do bring her round." Someone else was asking the naturalist about the butterfly position.

"But Laurie," I protested, as we left the station. "Why the silence? You were obviously all friends."

Patiently Laurie explained: "You see, as commuters we travel daily by the same train. It would be tiresome if we had to talk all the time; besides we need to study our papers. You don't have to talk continuously to be friendly."

"All very well for you," I grumbled. "But I like to talk, and how is a stranger to know? The carriage is labelled 'No Smoking.' Why not add another notice 'Please, No Talking'?"

This brings me to the story about Uncle Jaanie and the stranger.

It happened in South Africa many years ago when, before the advent of planes, the easiest way to reach distant parts was by

rail. A journey could take several days. Returning to his farm in the north from a business trip to Cape Town, Uncle Jaanie, a rugged outdoor type, found himself facing a tall, elegant man in a well-cut tropical suit and wearing an eyeglass.

"A visitor from Britain," decided Uncle Jaanie, "and a nice-looking chap." He anticipated with pleasure the long hours of conversation they would enjoy. To South Africans, especially to those living in isolated regions, every stranger is a potential friend. As a boy Uncle Jaanie well remembered how his father, sighting a rider against the horizon would send out a runner to offer the traveller a bed, a meal, fodder and drink for his horse. In exchange the stranger brought a welcome break in the monotony. The tradition survives.

But before Uncle Jaanie could speak, the stranger had firmly taken up a book. Nothing daunted, Uncle Jaanie leaned forward and said pleasantly: "A visitor to this country?"

"That is so," replied the other, politely but briefly. Uncle Jaanie tried again: "Been in South Africa long?" "Not very long," was the answer, but as the stranger returned to his book his politeness had a hint of frost. Uncle Jaanie scanned the title: "Water Rights and the Law." Water Rights? Could it be possible? He must find out.

"Going far?" he persisted, and now his eyes had a glint of mischief.

The stranger sighed, dropped his eyeglass and fixed Uncle Jaanie with a very frosty look. He said crisply, "My name is John Blank. I arrived in this country a week ago by the steamship 'Balmoral Castle.' Recently I acquired a farm, Rust-en-Vrede, near Elandsvlei. I am on my way north to inspect the property, and to discuss the question of water rights with the owner of the adjoining farm. This book is giving me the necessary background of information." Replacing his eyeglass, he seemed about to resume his reading.

By now Uncle Jaanie's eyes were full of laughter. Leaning forward he placed his hand on the other man's knee: "I am your neighbor," he said, "the man you are travelling north to see."

Their friendship became warm and enduring. I know this is true because it was Uncle Jaanie who told me the story.

Marjorie Bruce-Milne

The Monitor's religious article

How are we seeing?

I once lived in a house facing a drab street that backed on a builder's yard. But from the upstairs windows there were fine views over the town to peaceful hills and rich beechwoods that flamed in autumn. What I saw depended on the choice of window.

Christian Science, illuminating the Scriptures, has taught me that we all look out at life through the windows of our habitual interpretation of God's universe.

None of us is fixed in utterly unchangeable material circumstances. And no matter how much it may seem so, neither have we been dumped among inherently hostile or antagonistic persons. What we see around us is greatly conditioned by the way we look. Seen materially, life is apt to be discordant — in some cases, as it is in the wake of war, it can be horrible, with no apparent immediate solutions. But when we learn to view existence spiritually, harmony, even beauty, can come into our experience.

The human mind and the physical senses view the universe materially. Even though these senses, which are so easily proved unreliable, see man as fallible and physical, the Bible tells us man is made in the likeness of perfect God, Spirit, and is therefore spiritual and perfect.

Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes: "Mortal mind sees what it believes as certainly as it believes what it sees. It feels, hears, and sees its own thoughts."

Which thoughts should we trust and live by — those of the self-deceiving human mind, or those of God, the Mind that never makes mistakes?

When Christ Jesus said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," he was offering us total freedom from evil illusions. The Master knew that as the deception of matter and evil is removed from thought by the inspiration of God's true ideas received in humble prayer and study, human discord is progressively destroyed.

On this basis Jesus was able to heal disease, blindness, lameness. He reformed and regenerated men and women, fed the hungry, and even overcame death by his resurrection. He gave us the clue to all his mighty acts in the comforting fact that an understanding of spiritual truth — the only reality — brings freedom from matter's bonds.

We tend to think our troubles are solid facts and must be battled with as powerful realities if we are to vanquish them. But Jesus looked at the world from a higher, more spiritual consciousness and saw instead the untroubled reality of spiritual, perfect being. The effect of his knowing was to heal. Matter and evil, being lies, had to give up their afflictive claims.

Jesus never acknowledged two kinds of existence. There is only one kind of existence.

Become as little children

A child plots no destination.
Denies his death along high walls,
One foot lovingly before the next.

His work comes carefully to nothing;
With bright tools he shapes his visions
And tireless revisions.

He commits himself too freely
And loses games, belongings
Track of time.

Quick to the point of stories,
He watches for signs:
And is never charmed by consistency.

Richard A. Hawley

tence, and that one is wholly spiritual because it reflects God, who is Life. In an article entitled "The New Birth" Mrs. Eddy writes, "Here, then, is the awakening from the dream of life in matter, to the great fact that God is the only Life; that, therefore, we must entertain a higher sense of both God and man."

If we look around us with little more than physical sight and material sense, persons and situations can grieve and frustrate us. But if we learn to see in a measure as Jesus saw — spiritually, with God-enlightened understanding — then we see as Christly healers.

Understanding and loving God's perfect creation, we help to heal ourselves, our neighbor, even our world.

*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 86; **John 8:32; †Miscellaneous Writings, p. 18.

A deeply Christian way of healing

The Bible speaks of the great love and compassion that moved Jesus when he healed. In his ministry he turned the thought of those seeking healing to a fuller understanding of God's love and goodness.

In a deep, prayerful search of the Bible, Mary Baker Eddy discovered that Jesus' teaching and healing were scientific. She learned that health, freedom, and abundance are the natural and provable effects of God's overflowing goodwill for His children.

After proving this in her own healing work, she taught others how they could be healed by spiritual means alone. She explains this method of Christian healing in her book Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures. A careful study of its message can give you the clear understanding of God that heals. You can obtain a copy with the coupon below.

Miss Frances C. Carlson
Publisher's Agent
4-5 Grosvenor Place, 8th Floor,
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My cheque for £120 enclosed as payment in full.

Wayfarers all

Some men are marchers; faces to the gale,
beating life down before their blindfold stride;
not to be questioned, not to be denied;

and many a dogged mile I've trudged their trail.
Then there are graceful pipers, piping strains
to tangle souls in iridescent thread,
curled, slender fingers beckoning ahead;
and I have clapped and capered in their trains.

A blessed few proceed — serene, complete,
their inner essence changeless, strong, and sweet;
most gentle-handed, being full of strength;
most humble, being great. To them, at length,
come, thirsting, both the drivers and the driven
and are refreshed.

To these my love is given.

Kate Brackett

OPINION AND...

Brezhnev key to SALT success

By Victor Zorza
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

The question of Leonid I. Brezhnev's health and his possible retirement at the 25th Communist Party congress in February is coming to have a major impact on superpower politics, just as President Richard M. Nixon's Watergate-induced weakness did when it led to expectations of his own retirement.

Mr. Nixon's weakness was the reason his last summit meeting with Mr. Brezhnev — originally intended to mark a major advance in the limitation of strategic arms — made no significant progress. The result of Mr. Brezhnev's present weakness is that this year's party summit, which was originally scheduled for the spring, then for the summer, then for the autumn, and which is now expected at the turn of the year, may not be held at all.

If it is held, it may evade the real issues which have produced an impasse at the U.S.-Soviet strategic-arms talks and thus lead to the resumption of a virtually uncontrolled arms race.

The SALT 2 talks have now reached another fateful crossroads in the seemingly irresistible march of technology which threatens to overwhelm the puny efforts of politicians to control it. At the last crossroads, the politicians had the choice of stopping the development of MIRV, the multiple warhead missile, or continuing with the tests until the new weapon was proved. They chose to go ahead with the tests, but this meant in fact that both sides would then be driven by the technological imperative to rearm their missiles with multiple warheads.

Now a new technological advance, in the form of cruise missiles, has become entangled with the politics of succession to Mr. Brezhnev. As distinct from ballistic missiles, the numbers of which are limited by the SALT agreement, the number of cruise missiles is not subject to any limitation — or so the United States maintains, in the face of Soviet objections. As distinct from ballistic missiles, the cruise missiles, which are to be launched from ships, submarines, and aircraft, will be more accurate and cheaper and could thus become the main strategic weapon of the future. The cruise missile now being developed for the U.S. Navy will fit into a standard torpedo tube. All submarines would thus become potential launcher platforms.

This means that once the new missile has been tested and produced, the other side will have no way of verifying how many such launchers exist and will therefore feel compelled to revise its own strategic posture accordingly, just as happened when the MIRV tests advanced beyond the point of no return.

The advance of the cruise missile can be arrested only by political decisions in both the White House and the Kremlin, but any agreement would have to be a compromise requiring concessions on both sides.

President Ford, increasingly under pressure from the Right as the election approaches, finds it difficult to make concessions that would lay him open to charges of neglecting the nation's defenses. Mr. Brezhnev's health is obviously failing, but there are clear indications that he is anxious to hang on to power until the party congress — and, if possible, beyond it. This is no time, therefore, to take on the Soviet military-political complex, for any concessions he may extract from it now may cost him his job later.

Intelligence analysts in Washington now give Mr. Brezhnev no more than a 50:50 chance of continuing in power after the party congress, basing their estimates mainly on evidence of his declining health rather than of any significant weakening in his political position. My own study of the evidence leads me to the conclusion that Brezhnev's political position is much weaker than is generally thought and that the possibility of his removal is therefore much greater.

But even if the chances are only 50:50 and even if the reasons are mainly those of health, the consequences of Mr. Brezhnev's departure from the scene would be so dangerous as to require serious and urgent consideration before it is too late. The dismissal of Mr. Khrushchev led to a freeze in Soviet foreign-policy initiatives while the new leadership took several years to find its feet, and this is even more likely to be the case when Mr. Brezhnev goes. His successor will be in no position to make foreign-policy concessions while he consolidates his domestic power base — and no progress on SALT is possible without concessions from both sides.

So long as Mr. Brezhnev is there, the chances of reaching a satisfactory SALT agreement are better than after his departure. If the chance is not taken now, it may soon be too late because the closer the date of the party congress approaches, the less freedom of maneuver he has.

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Britain: that old brain drain again

By Philip Venning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Talk of another brain drain is suddenly back in the news in Britain. Not since the 1960s when planeloads of British scientists and engineers were lured across the Atlantic by generous research opportunities, lavish salaries (and, sometimes, better weather) has emigration aroused so much public concern.

This time it is disgruntled doctors and other health workers who seem to be packing their bags. And there has been a recent burst of publicity for the growing number of writers, actors and rock stars (Elton John and the Rolling Stones among others) who have been forced to live abroad to escape ferocious taxation.

In spite of recent immigration from the so-called New Commonwealth (countries like India, Kenya, and the West Indies) Britain has traditionally been a net exporter of people. Between 1964 and 1974, for example, 2.8 million left the country and only 2.3 million came in.

But the balance of migrants with brains and skills is to Britain's disadvantage. Many of those on the boats and planes out of the country are accountants, architects, university lecturers, industrial managers, and other qualified or experienced people. Nearly 63,000 "professional and managerial workers" left last year alone. Though Britain in turn drains the Commonwealth of much of its qualified manpower, and many emigrants do come back in the end, the country still suffers an overall loss — 14,000 last year plus families.

Not surprisingly it is an emotional issue. But it is not always quite what it seems. Contrary to popular belief Britain actually gained an extra 6,000 scientists during the 1960s. Those who left to work abroad were engineers and technologists, particularly alarming in a country with a poor record of applying its inventiveness.

This loss was largely due to the American space program, a subsequent government report confirmed. As the program ran down, emigration declined and many of the British scientists and engineers came home.

The present row over emigration by doctors is rather different, and many would say, artificial. The medical profession has been using it as a political weapon in a battle with social services minister Barbara Castle.

The doctors have an accumulation of complaints — about pay, hours of work, and the Labour Government's plan to ban all private patients from National Health hospitals. Just how much this is prompting doctors to leave the country is debatable.

Even the evidence for increased emigration is disputed. Recent figures are hard to come by. Certainly more doctors are emigrating than jobs abroad.

But the numbers involved are tiny, and on their own would be little threat to the health service. However the number of new immigrant doctors practicing in Britain has dropped sharply. This follows tighter regulations governing their qualifications, particularly their fluency in English, introduced earlier this year.

Doctors of course are not the only professional group interested in working abroad. Britain has always sent thousands of teachers to Commonwealth schools, and now that education budgets at home are being cut, more will probably start looking abroad. But the jobs may not be so easy to find. Australia, for example, which still attracts more Britons than any other country (569,000 from 1969 to 1973) has its own unemployment, and the granting of immigration permits is now strictly controlled. Other professional workers will not find it much better, unless they have some obscure specialist skill.

So far, in spite of Britain's entry to the European Economic Community, the number of British businessmen actually settled on the Continent has probably not risen dramatically.

In the longer term the enormous economic and social development taking place in the Middle East may prove to be the biggest sponge for British talent. But it has so far not really had much effect.

Philip Venning is on the staff of the Times Educational Supplement.

Melvin Maddocks

How to try without really succeeding

"It seems to me that the fundamental problem of American industrial and organizational life might be put in terms of this distinction between the need to accomplish something and the need to appear as if one had accomplished something." — David Riesman, interviewed in Human Behavior magazine

I. A. Cheever, president of Tweedledee, Tweedledum Toy Company, Inc., was sticking out his lower lip in a way that his first vice-president, Abel Dabbler, didn't like. Didn't like at all. Dabbler, who had been fired by Cheever and, fortunately, rehired seven times in the last 10 years, knew all the danger signals. And the point, as far as he was concerned, was an omen that the Cheever lips once again were about to pronounce the words: "Dabbler, you're through."

But first there had to be fun-and-games. "Have you seen this?" Cheever asked, tossing a rolled magazine in the direction of Dabbler's cashmere vest.

The copy of Human Behavior sprawled open to the Riesman interview, with the key passage underlined in trembling purple by a felt-tip pen. Dabbler, expecting something far worse — an audit of his September expense account at the least — scanned the four-page interview in 14 seconds flat, showing the eye-swiveling speed he had acquired at the Dynamite Reading Institute. Then he let the magazine fall to the president's teakwood desk, as if dropped by an invisible but particularly disdainful pair of lungs.

"Just another Harvard professor, sir. Ivory tower stuff. More Parkinson's-law jokes. Haven't we been through all that before?"

Cheever was barely listening. "What do we do here at Tweedledee, Tweedledum?"

"We make TV-oriented toys," Dabbler answered with excessive patience. "Howard Cosell footballs for boys. Cher dolls for girls."

"And unisex toys too," Cheever reminded him. "Like the Bonnie-and-Clyde submarine gun."

"Right, sir."

"And what are you up to at Tweedledee, Tweedledum?" Cheever asked far too sweetly. "What do you, as it were, do or make?"

Dabbler decided to stand on dignity. "If you don't know, sir, I doubt if it's my place to tell you."

"Humor me," said Cheever, with a rather nasty sneer replacing the pout. "Me and Professor Riesman. Tell us what you really accomplish."

"If you insist," said Dabbler, doing his imitation of Henry Kissinger before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "I think of myself as the Three-C Man, sir. First I create. I dream up projects, originate ideas. Next I coordinate. I plan, then I bring the right people together — the designers, the engineers — to execute the plan. Last of all I communicate. I set up a kind of forum for our product, involving everybody from our floor-sweepers to our customers."

It was a speech that had gone exceptionally well when Dabbler delivered it to the graduating class at the Thorpington School of Business. Why were Cheever's lips now making a shape curiously like a raspberry?

"Let me translate you into Riesmanese," said the president. "You create. That means you cover a vast forest's worth of paper with memos about, say, a Water-Crankite Halloween mask until our duplicators break down and our IN boxes groan. Then you write more memos — 'updates' — to report on the nonprogress of the projects you proposed in your first memos."

"And you coordinate, eh Dabbler? Meaning, we all have to sit around conference tables, explaining why we haven't answered your memos on the 'Planet of the Apes' wristwatch."

"Then you communicate. Translation: You run up a bigger phone bill talking about toy bazookas than the Pentagon does talking about real ones."

"You are an abstraction, Dabbler. The middle man's middle man. My only question is this: How many of you are on my payroll? How much of my money is going to Riesman pseudo-accomplishers?"

"Well, sir," said Dabbler. "I've often thought of myself as a fourth C — consultant. Why don't I form an investigative task force and write a report answering that question for you?"

COMMENTARY

The future of Britain's House of Lords

By Francis Renny
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Britain — a country with no written constitution to limit the powers of the parliamentary majority — paradoxically could have a constitutional crisis. The unelected and conservatively inclined House of Lords is at loggerheads with the Commons. At issue are three pieces of socialist legislation.

First is a labour relations bill which could force union discipline upon newspaper editors, so affecting the freedom of the press. Second is a bill which would extend state ownership and supervision and workers participation in management over private industry. And third is a bill to enable local government to buy land cheap and sell it dear.

The Lords have been busily amending all three, contrary to Labour wishes, and the government will certainly use its Commons majority to reverse the amendments. The question then arises: will the Lords repeat their alterations, or will they melt away into the backwoods, leaving the offensive legislation to sneak through almost unopposed?

If the Lords continue to resist, the government may reach back to the year 1911 and bring out the heavy artillery of the Parliament

Act, enabling the Commons to push through legislation even without Lords approval.

The present situation rests on the fact that, with the majority of Lords still hereditary, Labour has no certain majority in the Upper House. Among the 350 or so peers who turn up with any regularity, only about 100 are Labour and perhaps the same number independents. This last group helps to make it hard for the Conservative leaders to conduct opposition with much reliance on discipline.

Even if the front bench Tory Lords retire with dignity, the leadership cannot be sure that the back and cross benches will not continue firing to the bitter end. And the end at its very bitterest could be the abolition of the House. This could leave the country in the hands of a Commons majority elected by barely one-third of the total electorate. To some observers, this would seem less than a victory for democracy.

Thus, even though the three bills under dispute all involve important questions of Conservative principle, the Tory leadership is not eager for the final showdown. They are aware, however, that Tories in general are feeling frustrated. In the Commons they cannot defeat Labour without the votes of the Liberals and Nationalists, which are not forthcoming. And even though public opinion polls show Labour fortunes to be low, there

have not been the by-elections to prove that. So the Tories are tempted to let off steam in the Lords.

But Tory leaders also know that many Labour members would like to campaign on nothing better than the class issue of "Down with feudal privilege!" It might be used to cover up many socialist failures.

In fact the Labour leadership itself finds the Lords a useful institution, not only as a chamber for revision or overflow issues, but also as a pasture to which superannuated MPs can be pensioned off. The daily attendance allowance is something many a retired trade union official would appreciate. His wife might even fancy becoming a baroness, and the institution of life peerages (non-hereditary) helps to take away some of the feudal taint.

Constitutional experts agree that there must be a reform of the Lords before long, if only because the overworked Commons desperately need the help of an effective upper house. It is possible that in such a chamber, hereditary peers would no longer take seats automatically. The principle of regional, institutional or vocational representation is being mentioned. The only sure thing is that never again will the Lords appear like their Gilbert and Sullivan forebears who "Did nothing in particular, and did it very well."

Joseph C. Harsch

On reading other people's mail

Eavesdropping is an unpleasant and socially unpopular thing. It has been done down through the ages, but it is usually associated with crime, malice, or tyranny. There are laws against it. There are also laws which sanction it under special circumstances.

For example, a court can authorize wiretapping (a modern form of eavesdropping) when there is evidence of possible crime or concealment of crime. Any police department can get a warrant for such things when it can show reasonable grounds for suspicion. Opening other people's letters or reading their telegrams are forms of eavesdropping.

The intelligence branches of the U.S. federal government have done a lot of eavesdropping. Committees of House and Senate in Washington have spread some of the details on the public record. The quantity of such eavesdropping is — shall we say, impressive.

From 1952 (the first Eisenhower year) to 1973 (the last Nixon year) the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) read 215,000 pieces of mail passing through the New York Post Office. This was not all under Republican presidents. It went on right through the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Mostly the mail which was opened was mail going between the United States and Communist countries. During this same time the CIA photographed the outposts (front and back) of 2,765,726 pieces of mail going to and from the Soviet Union.

The FBI has also been busy opening letters.

Its officials state that from 1944 to 1966 they conducted eight major mail-opening operations. They claim this related mostly to "espionage operations" and did not involve fishing expeditions.

What are we of the plain citizenry to think of all this eavesdropping by departments of a government which supposedly exists for the benefit of the people? One expects this sort of thing where the people exist for the benefit of the state — as in the Soviet Union. But government in the United States is supposed to be "of the people, by the people and for the people." The very act of government spying or eavesdropping on its citizens presumes the superior right of the state over the citizen. It most certainly should never be done unless manifestly in the interest of the majority of the citizenry.

Yet there are recognized exceptions. Eavesdropping is proper, under legal safeguards, when crime is suspected. It is certainly proper in time of war, and is widely practiced in time of war. During World War II Bermuda was a busy place. All mail passing between the United States and Europe was channeled through Bermuda where the tourist hotels were converted to mail-reading factories. It kept Bermuda prosperous and busy throughout the war, and uncovered some spying.

The CIA now recognizes and admits that all of its 1953 to 1973 mail and telegraph reading was illegal. It violated its basic law which restricts it to overseas intelligence gathering.

Domestic intelligence is supposed to be exclusively in the hands of the FBI. So the CIA is out of the mail-reading business at home.

But the testimony of CIA and other government officials shows that during most of the time all this was going on no one involved in it had any real doubt about its propriety. The Post Office Department did not object. It simply assumed that the CIA and FBI had a right to do such things which would have been prohibited to anyone else. It is only now, in retrospect, that the CIA recognizes that its behavior then was illegal and improper.

There is an explanation. The "cold war" started long before 1953. Historians usually date it from a "guns not butter" Stalin speech of February, 1946, or from the Truman Doctrine of March, 1947. But what can be called an American counteroffensive against Soviet expansionism dates from 1953. That is when the CIA was told by then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to give the Soviets "something to worry about in their own back yard." Under Mr. Dulles's brother Allen, the CIA set about doing what it was told to do. It became active — very — all over the world.

It's impossible today to recapture the mood of those times. Suffice it to say that to those involved in the American counteroffensive what they did then seemed to be part of a great, worthy, and noble crusade. That it seems different today proves that these are different times and that back then — people got carried away.

Mirror of opinion

The end of the Indochina war has brought no truce between Moscow and Peking. The communist giants fear each other's expansion as Americans leave. And they no longer feel restrained by solidarity with Hanoi's "revolutionary front line." Their new activism is most noticeable in new Communist countries of Indochina, but it pervades Asia and may be reaching the disputed Sino-Soviet border.

Vietnam's centuries-old fear of China, and geopolitical advantages Hanoi might expect by favoring the more distant Russians, make Peking jump at each suggestion of closer Hanoi-Moscow ties. China seems especially alarmed by a Western report that Russia wants naval and air rights at former American facilities in South Vietnam. Hanoi does not shy from those fears and may hope to exploit them. Last month a Chinese Vice-Premier alluded to the concern during a trip to North Vietnam; a Moscow broadcast denounced his

No Sino-Soviet truce

"uncivil act of political provocation." Hanoi chose to insult China by ignoring his speech, rather than Russia by printing it. On issues such as Mrs. Gandhi's suspension of Indian democracy, Hanoi takes Moscow's line.

Hanoi is thus a maiden courted by two suitors, and she has lucrative offers from both. Beyond Indochina, countries as distant as the Philippines enjoy the role in lesser degree. They are the only winners. Japan is so vital a diplomatic marker that neither Communist giant lets political relations progress until Tokyo speaks against the other's designs. Peking's leading media replaced their usual national-day editorials this month with charges of Soviet intervention in China's northwestern provinces. China discovered signs of "capitulationism" in *Wider Margin* last month, some eight centuries after the novel was written; some analysts think the

campaign aims at officials who favor co-operation with Russia. Other analysts detect a return to military professionalism, subordinated in recent years to political doctrine and reliance on vast guerrilla strategy to deter the Soviets.

Russia could no more conquer China today than Japan could in the 1930's. It is unlikely to try. But the swollen Soviet military can better afford huge border camps and chronic skirmishing. China responds only at risk to Premier Chou's drive toward a modern economy. Yet Peking will hardly leave her northeastern plants and minerals open to tempt a rival that might like to spoil Peking's economic dreams. Given the physical frailty of leaders in both countries, and the strength of hawkish elements in both capitals, neither is likely to soften its line until, at least, one completes its succession. — The Sun (Baltimore)

If there's another Mideast war

By Francis Omer

Jerusalem
An international gathering of generals and defense specialists meeting here recently predicted two major trends which in their view would characterize a possible future Arab-Israeli war:

1. The battlefield will be dominated by conventional weapons, although both sides may by then have nuclear capability.

2. Despite the supersophistication of weapons introduced in the Yom Kippur war two years ago, the tank and the airplane are likely to remain the main workhorses of both the Arab and Israeli armies. However, the 1973 war demonstrated that the infantry and artillery have ceased to be the stepchildren of modern armies and have emerged anew as serious partners of the overall battle effort.

These conclusions were reached by a number of speakers at a conference of 400 experts from Israel, the United States, Europe, and Latin America examining the military and political influences of the Yom Kippur war. While many analysts in the United States believe Israel already may have nuclear weapons, the conference deliberately avoided this issue, a particularly sensitive one for Israel.

However, at least one speaker, Prof. Geoffrey Kemp of Tufts University in Medford, Mass., argued that if Israel does not already have the bomb, it should get one. The Arabs, Professor Kemp said, are increasing their ability to inflict mortal wounds on Israel, and Israel, therefore, may have to rely on a nuclear deterrent to avoid destruction.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, himself a former chief of staff who led Israel's forces in their brilliant 1967 victory, refrained from taking a position regarding the need for a nuclear weapon. "For the next five, 10, or 15 years we will live in an area where the main force will be a conventional force," he said.

However, the avoidance of nuclear war in the Middle East is an overriding concern of the superpowers, as pointed out by Britain's Brig. Kenneth Hunt, deputy director of the London Institute of Strategic Studies.

Brigadier Hunt stressed that the successful role played by Soviet antiaircraft and antitank missiles in the 1973 war would stimulate a wider role for electronic warfare in the future. He was supported by a prominent Israeli defense scientist and Knesset member, Moshe Arens, who called the missiles a "revolutionary change" in modern warfare.

But Maj. Gen. Binyamin Peled, as Israel's Air Force chief, played down the role of the missiles which proved so damaging to his fighters two years ago. General Peled said the missiles were too expensive and too limited in use to become predominant in any new Arab-Israeli conflict.

Lt. Gen. Mordechai Gur, the current chief of staff, stated that a decisive victory was possible in another Arab-Israeli war, but unlike the situation at the beginning of the latest war, offensive strategy was vital. "You can't be a good soldier with a defensive mentality. You have to have the drive to move forward," he said.

One recurring question regarding superpower consequences of the 1973 conflict concerned the future role of the Soviet Union. Most speakers who dealt with the question agreed that Soviet-American cooperation toward a final peace was unlikely, although limited joint action in smaller aspects of the problem was possible.

A strong argument of this view came from Abraham Becker, of the Rand Corporation, of California, who said Moscow "seems to be eager for a guarantor role" in any Middle East peace settlement.

Mr. Omer is the Monitor's special correspondent in Israel.